

MID-AMERICA

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The Genesis and Building of Detroit

Cadillac, as bearer of the letters of Frontenac, left Canada in the latter part of October 1698, and arrived in France at the end of the year, unaware as yet of Frontenac's death. The first thing he asked when he reached Paris was to be given his pay for the time of his voyage.¹

With almost equal celerity he submitted his project for the founding of a new settlement.² As early as May 27, 1699, the king sent a memorandum to Callières and Champigny in which this project is mentioned: "His Majesty is sending a memorandum of Sieur de Lamothe Cadillac, wherein the latter proposes to assemble all the Indians, our allies, in one communal body in the territory between Lake Erie, Lake Huron and Lake Michigan." Since this memorandum was addressed to Canada, there was no need, said the king, of describing in detail the means proposed for success of the plan. The proposal, however, was to be examined at Quebec in an assembly of the principal inhabitants in the presence of Sieur de Lamothe.³

Note: This article is a continuation of those published earlier in MID-AMERICA, namely, "Cadillac's Early Years in America," in the January, 1944, number, and "Antoine Laumet, alias Cadillac, Commandant at Michilimackinac: 1694-1697," in the April, July, and October, 1945, numbers. Editor.

¹ Summary of letters of 1698, Archives des Colonies (AC), C 11A, 120: 50.

² It is impossible to know whether Cadillac or Charron first thought of an establishment on the Strait connecting Lake Huron with Lake Erie; an undated memoir of Charron refers to such a post. P. Margry, *Découvertes et Établissements des Français dans l'Ouest et dans le Sud de l'Amérique Septentrionale*, 6 vols., Paris, 1876-1888, 5: 135 f.

³ Louis XIV to Callières and Champigny, AC, B 20: 197-198, printed in Margry, 5: 136 f.

There are two groups, says Cadillac in the plan, whose interests conflict;—the contractors in France and the people of Canada. Since he had no qualms about his own superior abilities, he feels sure of being able to effect an adjustment: "until now Lamothe has never been unsuccessful in anything which he had undertaken." First, he will prevent all beaver pelts from leaving the Ottawa country during the next three years, 1700 to 1702. Second, the beaver which will be sold will be *gras* or *demi-gras*, selling for six francs a pound. Third, the people of Canada who will profit by this commerce will be, or ought to be, satisfied. Fourth, the contractors will have no complaints, for they all will profit by this trade. "Fifth, he will gather in a single post all the Indians scattered about." And finally, "he will see to it that the Indians are humanized and civilized, so that in ten years most of them will speak no other language but French; and by this means, from being pagans they will become children of the Church and consequently good subjects of the king."

It may be noted here in parentheses that Cadillac had exactly ten years, that he had every opportunity to teach French to the Indians, and that the results were altogether negligible. To carry out articles one, two, and three, he went on to say, it is necessary to re-establish the twenty-five *congés*, "that is, to allow twenty-five canoes, with three men in each, to bring goods to the post that will be found, which must be located *au Detroit du Lac Huron*." To prevent the trade permit-holders from trading anywhere else, a deposit of 1,000 or 1,500 livres should be demanded, which would be forfeited in case of violation: "Here is the first chain that will hold them by one foot." Since all the Indians will be gathered together in one place, the traders will not want to go elsewhere, "and so this grouping of tribes in one place will be the second chain binding the *coureurs de bois* by the other foot." The new post should be made a seat of government, and a strong garrison should be stationed there: "this will be the third chain, that will bind the *coureurs de bois* around the waist."

The means of curtailing production of beaver pelts for three years is also very simple. If the convoy leaves Montreal in May 1700, it cannot reach Detroit before the end of June. A fort and lodgings will have to be built there before winter sets in. Hence, no trading can take place until the following May, that is, when the Indians arrive. The voyageurs will then be able to trade only a part of their merchandises, and will have to keep the rest for another year, till 1702. The convoy with the pelts cannot possibly return to Montreal before July, 1702, which means that exactly three

years will go by without pelts. Moreover, the pelts will be of a higher quality, because the Indians will have worn them. The outlay of merchandise should be more than 200,000 livres; and the contractors who are to supply this merchandise "must be satisfied with a reasonable profit," that is, with twenty-five per cent.

With regard to the fifth proposition, Lamothe is sure of success, provided he be given what is necessary for suitable presents to the tribes. "The undertaking will be all the easier to carry out, since the place where the Indians are to assemble was at one time their habitat; this is especially true of the Ottawa, Sauk, and Hurons, whom the Iroquois drove out of these regions. It can truly be said that the spot is the most beautiful in the world; it has the best and the most fertile soil, where every kind of produce grows."

The commandant is directed to follow the example of Frontenac; to make small presents on behalf of the king, and to invite to dinner at his house all those who have good manners. The Frenchification scheme as conceived by Cadillac, is discussed at length in the subsequent pages of this memoir; in fact, it forms the central part of the document.

As there are several kinds of missionaries in Canada, a house should be built for them within the fort; they will preach and give instruction in the faith; principally, they will instruct the young people and teach them French. All the Indians, especially the children, have a great facility in learning our language. Experience proves this, for we have many Indians, both men and women, who speak French as perfectly and with even greater precision than the French themselves.

On his return to France in 1699, while the difficulties at Michilimackinac were still rankling in his heart, Cadillac was not likely to forget his good friends the Jesuits, as it is evident from his reference to the missionaries. Strange that the numerous Indians speaking French were unknown to every one in Canada; or rather it is not strange at all, for they only existed in the overwrought imagination of the commandant. The *coureurs de bois* had not taught French, and Cadillac himself certainly did not become a French teacher at Michilimackinac during the three years he spent there.

The missionaries must be honest with regard to the language question. His Majesty should be kind enough to give them emphatic orders to that effect, for several reasons. The first is that when religious or other ecclesiastics have made up their mind about something, they never change. The second is because they will thus render themselves indispensable to the king and to the governors, who stand in need of them to make their intentions known to the Indians and to find out the attitude of the Indians

in certain contingencies. Thirdly, if all Indians spoke French all sorts of ecclesiastics could instruct them; this might cause the loss of [royal] gratuities; in short, although these Reverend [Jesuit] Fathers come to Canada only for the glory of God, one motive does not exclude the other. All the ecclesiastics who are in Canada have the same motive; but one motive does not exclude the others.

Even in Talon's time, Colbert had been won over by the advocates of Frenchification. "A great deal of time, energy, and money might have been saved, had Colbert acquainted himself with the history of the question, upon which his views were so pronounced."⁴ And now, thirty years later, the great Cadillac settles the whole question in a few sentences. Why did not the governors and the commandants, especially the latter, learn at least one Indian language? Either Huron or Algonquian would have enabled them to make themselves understood. He gives here expression to the feeling of most of the officials in New France: they resented having to depend on the missionaries. It was only natural that the Indians should have greater deference toward those who spoke their language; in this respect, the Black Robe was superior to Onontio. The commandants lived in the midst of the Indians as the missionaries did. During his three years at Michilimackinac, Cadillac had every opportunity to learn both Huron and Algonquian; instead, he chose to sell brandy.

His "third reason" is just as weak as the other two. Precisely what he means by "all sorts of ecclesiastics" is not so clear; but he is evidently alluding to the exclusiveness of the Jesuits, who preferred to work in their own mission with their own men rather than with other priests, who employed assuredly excellent, but different methods of evangelization. This could only cause friction, and the very fact that other missionaries wore a different garb would make the Indians believe that they had a different aim. The reference to possible loss of gratitude is silly. The whole subsidy granted by the king would not have sufficed to keep one mission open.

To prove that "one motive does not exclude the other," Cadillac goes on to say that "the ecclesiastics" possess three fourths of Canada: a glance at a map of the colony is enough to prove that the clergy are enormously wealthy. No reference is made to his own substantial holdings: the twenty-five square miles on the coast, which he was supposed to clear and cultivate for the well-being of

⁴ M. Eastman, *Church and State in Early Canada*, Edinburgh, 1915, 114.

the colony instead of selling brandy. He conveniently overlooks the fact that the land which "the ecclesiastics" had bought or had been granted was used for the benefit of the colony, for the land was being handed over to tenants for cultivation. Having thus convicted "the ecclesiastics" of mixed motives, he ends with the pious hope "that nothing of the kind will take place in the Ottawa country [*i.e.*, in Detroit], and that in this respect more heed will be given to the intentions of the Court."

After this digression, he comes back to the Frenchification scheme. To promote emulation among the Indian children, the governor accompanied by some officers should visit the classes and give prizes to the best pupils. The "governor" referred to is, of course, the future commandant of Detroit, who now sees himself as a second Charlemagne visiting the palace schools. "It would be well for the king to set aside a lump sum to provide for the Indian children whom the missionaries will take in as boarders in their schools. This should be done in cooperation with the governor." If Cadillac had consulted Frontenac before leaving for France, the governor could have enlightened him on this point by relating the outcome of his own "hostage" experiment.

He then indicates the bright future which his project will bring to the colony:

Thus the children of the Indians and those of the French will converse with one another, and what takes place everywhere will also take place here;—the Indian children will speak French, and the French children will speak Indian. For, if ten children, each speaking a different language, constantly associate with one another, each child will learn ten languages.

Subsequent events seem to show that he met with unforeseen obstacle, which cooled his enthusiasm. Cadillac's children were with him in the new settlement, but there is no record that one of them spoke an Indian language. His eldest son, who grew up in Detroit, could at least have learned Algonquian or Huron by associating with the young Indians there, and thus become interpreter for his father. Or perhaps Cadillac intended that the children of other Frenchmen should mingle with the Indians, but not his.

When there are Indian girls who speak good French and are instructed in our faith, any soldiers or other Frenchmen who may wish to marry them, must be allowed to do so. It would be still better if the king granted a subsidy to those who contract such marriages; for this would move these poor girls to be more easily converted. Though I do not know why, it is certain that there is not one Indian girl who does not prefer the most lowly Frenchman to the most exalted personage of her tribe; and all the Indians

feel greatly honored by such alliances. The children of such marriages would speak French and would be loath to speak Indian; a fact which is confirmed by daily experience in Canada. Such was formerly the policy of the English, who brought under their domination a very great number of Indians,—who are today the pillars of their colony,—after having taught them their language and, what is more deplorable, their heresy; for these poor Indians are more pious and more devout than the English themselves.

The above quotation contains as many inconsistencies as there are assertions. When he was at Michilimackinac, Cadillac inveighed against the mercenary character of the conversions there, whereas here, he is suggesting a dowry as a means of bringing the Indian girls into the fold. It is simply not true that the Indian girls preferred Frenchmen to Indians. The curious reader may easily find evidence of their repugnance, as well as the reason which led Cadillac to make such a statement. Daily experience showed exactly the opposite of what he says: the French had no worse enemies than the half-breeds. Finally, it is a matter of common knowledge that the English did not bring the Indians under their domination by interracial marriages, and there are enough references in the records to prove that the English did not teach their language to the Indians of New York and New England.

There follows an appeal for support of the plan:

Sieur de Lamothe humbly begs of you, my Lord, to be persuaded that in his plan, he has omitted nothing which he deemed useful to the service of God and of the king; he is convinced that his only aim is to find ways and means to keep the colony which has cost so much to His Majesty. He would like to be given an opportunity to win the good will of MM. the contractors and to look after their interests. He will do all he can to satisfy them and he will surely bring this plan to a successful issue, if they give him favorable consideration.

When he wrote the above, Cadillac had no idea that his plan would be sent to Quebec to be examined by the governor, the intendant, and the principal inhabitants. He apparently thought that the authorities in Paris would at once order it to be tried out, and he fervently hoped that he would be selected to put it in operation. If someone else were to execute the project and if it miscarried, he could always claim that it failed because the wrong man had been chosen. How anxious he was for the appointment is clear from the first sentence of the last paragraph, which also contains a parting shot at the methods of the missionaries:

It would be hard, indeed, if after he himself had beaten the bush, another were to catch the hare. He has every assurance that it is like banging one's head against a stone wall to hope to convert these nations

in any other way than the one herein set forth; for all that the missionaries have to show is that they baptized little children who died before reaching the age of reason.⁵

The project was given to some official in Paris for criticism. In his memorandum which was not enthusiastic, the critic pointed out many intrinsic and extrinsic weaknesses of the plan.⁶ These objections were answered by a sympathizer who wrote his comments in the margin of the manuscript, and it was finally decided to submit the plan to the authorities in Canada for consideration.

The views of the governor and of the intendant concerning the plan, are expressed in their letter of October 20, 1699. Although approving the plan in general, the governor, Callières, had the following serious objections. While Detroit was an ideal location, the Iroquois might take umbrage, since the post would limit their hunting grounds, and their ill-will might lead to a perpetuation of the war. Moreover, the western Indians would be much too close to the English in the new post, and they would be strongly tempted to trade with the latter instead of with the French. It would be better, he thought, to re-establish the twenty-five *congés*; this would prevent the traders from going to the Indian villages, and would force them to trade in the posts already established, to which garrisons should be sent.⁷

The situation in Canada was in fact quite different from what it had been when Cadillac left for France in October 1698. Frontenac was no longer there, and without this powerful protector, the author of the plan was at a considerable disadvantage. Whether Frontenac would have approved of the plan is a matter of serious doubt. We have already seen that he was too intelligent to be taken in by the featherbrained schemes of Cadillac, and the danger of the close proximity of the western Indians to the English would certainly not have escaped him.

Champigny's verdict was still less favorable than that of Callières.⁸ Though the latter was probably indifferent in his attitude toward Cadillac, the intendant had many personal reasons for distrust, because of what Cadillac had done in 1694. It is also likely

⁵ This memoir is found in AC, C 11E, 14: 35-41; it is printed in Margry, 5: 138-153.

⁶ AC, C 11E, 14: 51-52v.

⁷ Margry, 5: 154-156.

⁸ An abstract of Cadillac memoir entitled "Extrait du Memoire du Sr de la Mothe Cadillac capitaine d'une Compagnie de Marine en Canada sur l'Etablissement aux Outaouacs," is in AC, C 11E, 14: 44-50; a shorter abstract is in AC, C 11A, 17: 101-103. The latter is a two column document; the comments of Champigny are on the left-hand side.

that he might have a good word to say for the project, had its author been somebody else. Even if the plan had been sound, Cadillac's attacks against the missionaries were not conducive to win the intendant's good will. Apart from the fact that some of Champigny's comments betray antagonism to Cadillac personally, the intendant was fully aware of the state of affairs in Canada, and it is worth noting that what actually happened at Detroit confirmed his objections to the project.

The peaceful reunion of several tribes in one place, he says, is an almost impossible task; this was clearly seen at Michilimackinac, where Hurons and Ottawa were constantly fighting each other. Moreover, such a multitude of Indians would not be able to support themselves in so narrow a space. They need a much wider territory for their hunting grounds, and would have to go back to where they are now, that is, to Michilimackinac, or farther west, to get the pelts which they sell to the French. As for Cadillac's "social uplift" plan, he goes on to say:

The difficulty of civilizing distant tribes is exemplified by the fact that we hardly ever see one Indian remaining with us, of those who have been brought to us in their childhood and were raised among us. This indicates clearly that success in making them civilized is not to be hoped for. Even now, the missionaries find it necessary to have French servants, because the Indians do not like to be dependent or to remain settled in any one place, and it is more usual for a Frenchman to become an Indian, than for an Indian to become a Frenchman.⁹

Champigny, like Callières, expressed grave doubts that the Iroquois would peacefully let the French build the projected fort at Detroit. And he was entirely unimpressed by Cadillac's main argument, the beaver holiday. How, he asked, will the Indians subsist during this time? Furthermore, he was shrewd enough to note that the commandant of the new post could carry on a lucrative trade during the holiday, and pocket all the money himself. He also objected to Cadillac's implied criticism of the missionaries:

It is an excessive stricture upon the success of the missionaries to say that their whole achievement consists in baptizing children and in converting a few old men at the hour of death, for it is patent that there are many Indians who practice their religion, and even a number of them who lead an edifying life.¹⁰ This will undoubtedly become even more true when the *coureurs de bois* and the soldiers are well disciplined.

⁹ Cf. Jean Delanglez, *Frontenac and the Jesuits*, Chicago, 1939, 49 ff.

¹⁰ It is probably Cadillac's slur which prompted Champigny to send a list of the Jesuit Indian missions in New France to the minister. Champigny to Pontchartrain, October 20, 1699, AC, C 11A, 17: 69.

The renewal of the congés, which Cadillac had advocated, was favored by Callières independently of the plan as a whole. With this Champigny also agreed, objecting only to the abuse of granting these permits to a small coterie for whose benefit they were never intended.

The success of the English in anglicizing the Indians is more specifically stated in the abstract of Cadillac's memorandum which Champigny annotated, than it is in the original document. In this abstract we are told that in Long Island alone, there are 15,000 Indians speaking no other tongue than English and that some of these Indians are actually ministers in Protestant churches. It may be, says Champigny, that some of the Indians in the English colonies are easier to civilize, as the Arkansas are said to be, but he adds: "We have no certain knowledge of these dispositions, and if a thorough examination of the matter were made, one would perhaps find it necessary to discount heavily from what is said here, especially about the Indians' training in arts and trades, and their sedentary habits."

With regard to sending Ursulines to the wilderness "with savages and soldiers, the proposal was distasteful to all those who heard it," when it was read in the assembly at Quebec. In conclusion, he said, there were so many difficulties connected with the plan itself, that it was unnecessary to discuss the means for carrying it out.

Champigny signed the above comments on October 20, 1699; that is, shortly before the mail left for France. Cadillac, realizing that his plan was doomed unless he could present a report in person about the action taken by the Quebec assembly, hastened to assure Callières that he had leave from Pontchartrain to return at once to Paris.¹¹ What his personal report was like, we can gather from an undated letter to Pontchartrain, which he wrote at the beginning of 1700.¹² "You scolded me so much," he says in this letter, "that it is my duty to justify my conduct. A thorough examination can easily be made by means of the detailed account which I am about to give you of all that took place in Canada with regard to the project I had the honor of submitting to you last year."

This letter purports to give a "word for word" account of what took place in the assembly at Quebec. Here, as well as elsewhere, in his correspondence, he adopts the dialogue form; the arguments

¹¹ Callières to Pontchartrain, October 20, 1699, AC, C 11A, 17: 41.

¹² AC, C 11E, 14: 40-44, printed in Margry, 5: 157-166.

against his plan are made to appear weak, and of course, it is easy for Cadillac to demolish them.

The principal inhabitants of Canada had assembled in Quebec, by order of Callières and Champigny, to discuss the price of beaver pelts.¹³ In the midst of an animated discussion, Champigny imposed silence and took out of his pocket "the memorandum which you had sent him, and read it to the assembled inhabitants. Lamothe did not expect this, for he had not been informed either in France or in Canada" that his own memorandum was to be discussed in public. It is probable that Champigny had no regret about thus informing the merchants of Cadillac's solution to their troubles. After the reading of the memorandum, the assembly was silent, a fact which Cadillac interpreted as ominous to his plan.

Champigny then laid before the assembly, his criticism of the Frenchification scheme, the impracticability of sending Sisters to the wilderness, and of the proposed beaver holiday. "Lamothe is well aware that M. de Champigny wrote other objections to the Court against his memorandum; and he is not ignorant either, of those who suggested these criticisms to him and what their motive is. Without being disrespectful to an intendant, it may be said that the intendant allowed himself to be deceived, and that he did not write as honestly as is his wont." At this point Cadillac must have felt that he was writing *finis* to the American chapter of his career. His private interview with Callières before leaving had indicated in what sense the governor would report to Paris, there was no doubt what Champigny's report would be, and he knew that some of the inhabitants would also write to Paris. We know that when he left Quebec, he was thinking of seeking employment in France.¹⁴ He rewords Champigny's final objection as follows: "The Indians are so libertine that the Jesuits themselves are unable to make servants of them and are forced to have recourse to Frenchmen." It will be remembered that Champigny's actual objection mentioned missionaries, not Jesuits, and that he explained the Indians' attitude by their love of freedom, not by their love of pleasure.

Answer of Lamothe. This objection is not M. de Champigny's. He only made it because, in good faith, he relies on the assertions of those who want to wreck the project. It is not to be expected that the Jesuits should be anxious to have Indians as servants. This would go against their views, since they pretend 1) that the French language should not be taught

¹³ Cf. the minutes by Champigny of what took place between the representatives of the contractors and those of the inhabitants of Canada, September 23, 1699, AC, F3, 8: 116-133.

¹⁴ Cf. Callières to Pontchartrain, October 20, 1699, AC, C 11A, 17: 41.

to the Indians, because it makes them greater debauchees; 2) that all relation and all intercourse between French and Indians are dangerous, and corrupt the morals of the latter; 3) that remoteness from the French settlements is the only means of preserving the Indians from this corruption.

These three "views" of the Jesuits are worth considering. The first reason given for not teaching French to the Indians is not found in any known document of the period, outside of this letter. One of the great obstacles to the conversions of the Indians was the bad example of the French. This fact was openly stated by all who did missionary work among the Indians: Sulpicians, Priests of the Foreign Missions, Recollects, and Jesuits. For instance, when Father Marest heard that the French were coming to settle in the Kaskaskias village, he wrote that should they be such as would edify the neophytes, he would be glad to see them come, for their example would be an incentive for the Indians, "but if, unhappily, some of them should come and openly practice libertinage and perhaps irreligion, as is to be feared, all would be over with our mission."¹⁵ Cadillac's refutation of this "reason" is as forceful as the reason is weak: If the French language, he says, makes debauchees of those who speak it, the kings of France were wrong in permitting it to be spoken in Languedoc, Guyenne, and other provinces of France; indeed, according to this theory, French should only be spoken in the Ile de France. "Nothing is said here," he continues, "about the separation of the Indians from the French, because it would lead us too far afield, and one wishes to be discreet in this matter." Cadillac had every reason to be discreet about his own motives for opposing such a separation.

His next two paragraphs are a dissertation on the words of Christ to St. Peter: "I shall give thee the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven." Christ, comments our exegete, did not say "the key," but "the keys," and by this plural he meant that not only the Jesuits, but all the religious orders and the secular clergy also should evangelize and teach the nations. If so many souls go to hell, it is because these laborers have quarreled over priority of rights. "Intelligent people cannot understand such an attitude; it is a flagrant abuse, my Lord, and your reputation is at stake unless you suppress it." The Jesuits had probably not even heard of Cadillac's plan until after it had been made public in the assembly. There had been no quarrel over preference at Michilimackinac; and if souls went to hell in the Northwest, the brandy trade carried on there

¹⁵ R. G. Thwaites, ed., *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, 73 vols., Cleveland, 1896-1901, 66: 292.

by a certain former commandant would seem to be more closely connected with this result than anything done or omitted by the missionaries.

Cadillac's next comments on the spirit of Canada are quite illuminating:

You must never hope for success, if they are allowed to deliberate upon the plan over there. It is a country full of cabals and intrigues; and it is impossible to make so many men agree whose interests are at variance. They are only happy when they can thwart others, for it is the character of the people of that country.

In the light of the above tirade, which might have been written by Lahontan, the Frenchification of the Indians, their conversion, and the opening of an Ursuline convent are seen as so much camouflage to conceal the real purpose of the father of the project. Cadillac knew that his plan would be opposed by the merchants, and hoped to keep it secret from them until the orders to execute it came from Paris. Thereafter he could confront them with a *fait accompli*, and report all obstructionists to the Court as traitors to Canada and to France.

This undated letter was written early in 1700. Cadillac had accurately gauged the situation when he resolved to go to France. Whatever he could have written would have been less effective than his own presence in Paris. As a matter of fact, he managed to impress upon the home authorities the necessity of founding a post, and to persuade the government that he was the man to effect its foundation. His success can be measured from the king's memorandum to Callières and Champigny.

His Majesty had taken cognizance of the memoranda which both [Callières and Champigny] sent on the proposal made by Sieur de Lamothe Cadillac to populate the shores of the Strait between two lakes with Indian allies of the French. Since they as well as those who know that country agree that such a post would be very useful in holding the Iroquois and even the English in check and in preventing the latter from occupying that region, it is His Majesty's wish that they again examine together, without calling in the inhabitants, the means which might be used to found this post, and without renewing the war with the Iroquois which absolutely must be avoided. His Majesty hopes that if they take up this affair with the intention of making it succeed, they will find a way to do so, and at the same time will avoid the difficulties which at first were feared.

With regard to the means proposed by the said Sieur de Lamothe, such as bringing Sisters thither, it would be out of the question to adopt all such means from the very beginning. The most suitable means should be chosen at first, and the others may be useful as time goes on. His Majesty will be waiting to hear from them. If, however, the plan appears

practicable, and if the apprehended difficulties can somehow be overcome, he wishes them to begin establishing this post this very year [1700]. To this effect, he is sending the said Sieur de Lamothe back to Quebec so that he may be employed in carrying out the plan. But if the plan is impracticable, he wishes them to let him return to France on the flute *La Seine* to attend to his private affairs.

His Majesty has also examined the proposal of Sieur Charron, director of the hospital of Montreal. It has practically the same objective as the proposal of Sieur de Lamothe Cadillac. He wants them to examine it also, and use what appears best and most practicable, so that, by combining these two plans and making use of what appears best in each, the possession of the lakes can be made secure, the English prevented from establishing themselves there, and the Indians kept friendly toward us by selling them goods at low prices, and at the same time preventing men from ranging the woods. His Majesty still looks upon this last as the cause of the misfortunes of the colony. He will be waiting for an account of their decision with regard to these proposals, with the execution of which, he repeats, he permits them to proceed, unless they meet with insuperable impediments and inconveniences.¹⁶

Accordingly, Cadillac had to go back to Canada and convince Callières that the difficulties were not insuperable. He was so confident of ultimate success that on his return, he took along two masons, two carpenters, and two joiners. They all sailed together on the *Seine*.¹⁷ The king's memorandum left no doubt that some sort of post somewhere along the Strait would have to be founded. Although Louis XIV did not give a positive order to proceed in spite of all difficulties, he plainly indicated that the officials of New France should do their utmost to begin such an establishment. The ways and means, and the choice of plans, were left to their discretion; but no matter what plan might be chosen, Cadillac was to be employed for its execution.

When the *Seine* cast anchor at Quebec late in the summer of 1700, the colony was fervently hoping that the peace negotiations with the Iroquois would succeed and that the state of war which had prevailed since the Rat killed the peace in 1688 would at last come to an end. Peace was concluded on September 3, 1700, and the treaty was signed on August 4, of the following year. This was favorable to Cadillac's plan, and he did not fail to make the most of it, as appears from the official despatch sent to Paris in October, 1700.

Since His Majesty is so much interested in our beginning a settle-

¹⁶ Louis XIV to Callières and Champigny, May 5, 1700, AC, B 22: 96-97v.

¹⁷ Estat des officiers et autres a qui le roy a accordé passage sur la flute *La Seine*, AC, B 22: 116.

ment along the Strait, and since the greatest obstacle was the war with the Iroquois,—an obstacle now removed owing to the peace concluded with those Indians,—Sieur de Callières will send Sieur de Lamothe with a sufficient number of men to take possession of this post next spring, as it is impossible to do it sooner. By way of precaution, we shall prepare the minds of those Indians [Iroquois] this winter, lest they take umbrage, and lest the peace just concluded be jeopardized.

As the upkeep of this post would cause considerable expenses to His Majesty if trade were not allowed, we shall send merchandise from the king's warehouse as we did for Fort Frontenac . . . Since the king forbids all officers to trade, and since Sieur de Lamothe will be unable to subsist on his pay, it will be necessary for His Majesty to give a suitable allowance to him as well as to Sieur Tonti, whom, Sieur de Lamothe told us, he proposed to you.¹⁸

Callières' personal letter to Pontchartrain further hints at what Cadillac said about the attitude of the Court with regard to the founding of the post.

From the joint letter [quoted above] you will see, my Lord, that next spring I shall send Sieur de Lamothe with Sieur de Tonti to build a fort along the Strait . . . I shall apply myself all the more willingly to that establishment, inasmuch as Sieur de Lamothe assured me that you desired it, for I have nothing more at heart than to accomplish your good pleasure.

Sieur de Lamothe and Tonti are well qualified for that enterprise, but I trust you will be so kind as to procure for them an increase of pay to enable them to live there.¹⁹

Cadillac had evidently persuaded the two officials in Quebec that Pontchartrain himself wanted the post. Detroit's failure, he wrote later, was the minister's concern; as for himself, he washed his hands of the whole business.

Champigny's letter of October, 1700, contains little about the foundation of the post. In obeying the orders received from Paris, he availed himself of the instructions of the king, and the freedom to select the plan—and he chose that of Charron.²⁰ Cadillac was too shrewd to protest at this stage. It would involve more correspondence with Paris, and possibly a journey to France with the result that someone else might be sent to found the post. Once in command of the new post, he could somehow so handle the situation that his own plan would be substituted for the plan of Charron. A letter which he wrote to Pontchartrain at this time does not

¹⁸ Callières and Champigny to Pontchartrain October 18, 1700, AC, C 11A, 18: 16-16v.

¹⁹ Callières to Pontchartrain, October 16, 1700, AC, C 11A 18: 67v-68.

²⁰ Cadillac to Pontchartrain, September 25, 1702, *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society* (MPHS), 33: 146.

seem to be extant,²¹ but we have a long and illuminating letter to Lagny (?) dated October 18, 1700.²²

He has been chosen, he says, to found a post on the Strait which separates the Lake Huron from Lake Erie. There has been too much delay as it is, for the English are threatening to build posts on Lake Erie, and they have already erected a fort on a river which discharges into Lake Ontario. "If our colony were not so full of envy, disunion, cabals and intrigues, no opposition would have been offered to the taking possession" of so advantageous a post. "The former ill-timed objections, to the effect that this post would keep us forever at war with the Iroquois, are now removed by the peace concluded with them." The strength of the Indians lies in their remoteness from the French. As soon as they are all within easy reach, he said, they will be kept in awe by the display of French power.

This last assertion is false. It is intended as an answer to the serious objection of the Paris critic of the original plan, namely, that it would be unwise to settle a great number of Indians in one place because they could not be resisted if they then decided to shake off the French yoke. To forestall this eventuality, it would be necessary to foster disunion among the various tribes, thus causing endless disputes, brawls, and bloodshed. This is aside from the difficulty of having the Indians live at peace with one another, which was next to impossible, as Champigny had pointed out in the preceding year; and Cadillac himself had written to Lagny, namely, that to prevent the various nations of the Northwest from killing one another was an almost impossible task.

At the time of writing this letter, he knew that Charron's plan was to be tried. This seems to have been simply a matter of founding a post similar to the other posts of the Northwest, and sending a small garrison to the spot. To take command of such a post was by no means a promotion for one who had been the commandant of Michilimackinac with authority over all the posts in the West. Moreover, since all trading was forbidden, the game would not be worth the candle, as he himself said in another connection. His letter indicates how little he relished the idea: "It will be futile to establish this post if they do not comply with my memorandum; for, if nothing but a garrison is maintained there, it will be subject to the revolutions which usually take place in a frontier post, and it will make

²¹ Cf. Pontchartrain to Cadillac, May 31, 1701, AC, B 22: 221v-222.

²² Cadillac to [Lagny?], October 18, 1700, AC, C 11E, 14: 56-69, printed in Margry, 5: 166-172.

no impression on the minds of the Iroquois, to say nothing of the English."

In order to succeed, he says the following measures must be adopted. Begin the post as soon as possible, with fifty soldiers and fifty Canadians, so as to squelch any claim which the English may think they have to that territory. "A year later, when the fort has been made secure against insult, it will be well to allow twenty or thirty families to settle there, and to bring their cattle and other necessary equipment, which they will be glad to do at their own expense. This policy may then be continued, as it is permitted in all the other settlements of the colony." Why, it may be asked, should the settlers in Lower Canada abandon their land and "be glad" to go to the new post, especially if the moving was to be at their own expense? He suggests no answer to this question. The next year, that is the third year after the foundation of the post, two hundred soldiers are to be sent who should, as far as possible, be skilled in different trades.

In order to anticipate all complaints from settlers and traders at the other posts, there is to be no trading at this one. With only 1,000 livres pay and no trade, Cadillac will be unable, he says, to "continue his services in the style due to His Majesty," whose representative he is, for his whole pay will barely suffice to entertain the Indian chiefs at an occasional dinner. He goes on to outline his plans for missionaries:

We must establish at this post missionaries of different communities, such as Jesuits and other Fathers as well as priests of the Foreign Missions. They are all laborers in the vineyard of the Lord and should be taken in indiscriminately. Special orders should be given to teach French to the young Indians since this is the only means to civilize and humanize them, and to instill into their hearts and minds the law of religion and of the king . . . but in order to ensure greater success, the king should favor these same missionaries with his bounty and alms in proportion as they instruct the children of the Indians in their houses, the evidence of which will be given by the commandant and other officers.

The third and fourth year, we shall be able to have Ursulines and other Sisters there, to whom His Majesty might grant the same favor.

Later still, a hospital for Indians could be founded. Frenchmen should be allowed to marry Indian girls, "when these have been instructed in religion and know the French language, which they will learn all the more eagerly (provided we labor carefully to that end), because they always prefer a Frenchman as a husband to any Indian whatsoever." In the ninth and last article, Cadillac indulged in a reference to the classics. Marriages between the French and In-

dians will strengthen the friendship between the two races, "as the alliances of the Romans perpetuated peace with the Sabines through the intervention of the women whom the former had taken from the others." The point is somewhat weakened by the fact that both Romans and Sabines were of the same racial stock.

This plan, he claims, will redound to the glory of the king and of God. It will firmly establish the true religion among these tribes and put an end to the "deplorable sacrifices which they offer to Baal." He begs his correspondent to obtain from Pontchartrain the rank of ensign for his eldest son whom he is taking with him. He also notes that he is one of the ten persons chosen by the new Company to handle its affairs. Two deputies have been sent to France to have the king approve a new contract for the exclusive trade in beaver pelts, and he hopes that these deputies will carry out their commissions more effectively than their predecessors.

In order to explain the early history of Detroit, a few words should be said about the Company to which Cadillac alludes.²³ After the suppression of congés in 1696, the revenue contractors still had their stock of pelts and were bound by their contract to buy at a fixed price all pelts brought to their warehouses. In 1699, the people of Canada sent delegates to France who on February 9, 1700, secured a decree of the Council of State transferring to the inhabitants the rights formerly belonging to Guige, one of the revenue contractors.²⁴ When these delegates returned to Quebec, a "meeting of the inhabitants of the three estates" of the colony ratified the deed. A new company, La Compagnie de la Colonie, was quickly formed, in which everybody took shares.²⁵ Cadillac himself, who was the tenth on the list, pledged 1,000 livres.²⁶ The new capitalists "canceled the contract which Pascaud had made with Rodes," and on the following day, the shareholders appointed seven directors as well as two delegates, Aubert de la Chesnaye and Delino,²⁷ who were sent to France, to protect the interests of the new company.

²³ "The directors of the 'Company of the Colony' were the Jesuits... M. Cadillac was a zealous Catholic... but he was a Franciscan, and a cordial hater of the Jesuits." E. M. Sheldon, *The Early History of Michigan from the first Settlement to 1815*, New York and Chicago, 1856, 99. Cf. the comments of Richard R. Elliott, in *The Genesis of the French History of Detroit* (n. p., 1892), 5.

²⁴ Decree of the Council of State, February 9, 1700, AC, F3, 8: 149-153.

²⁵ E. Richard, ed., *Supplement to Dr. Brymner's Report on Canadian Archives, 1899*, Ottawa, 1901, 101.

²⁶ AC, F3, 8: 192.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 218-219v.

The directors soon petitioned Callières to ask Pontchartrain that the "trade at Fort Frontenac and [at the post to be built] on the Strait be granted them to the exclusion of everybody else." In his letter to the minister, Callières refers to this as a most unjust request, which he had refused to grant, for if the Company is granted the exclusive privilege to trade in all the posts, the ruin of the colony is sealed. Callières could not understand why Champigny should be in favor of such a monopoly, and why he should lend his support to the petition of the directors.²⁸ Nevertheless, the argument of the delegates in France prevailed, and they were granted this exclusive right. Pontchartrain notified Cadillac of this decision in his letter of May 31, 1700, and promised to urge the Company to give him an increase of salary which would last as long as he remained at the new post.²⁹

The events which hastened Cadillac's departure to Detroit are detailed in a memorandum addressed to Pontchartrain by Le Roy de la Potherie late in 1702.³⁰ After giving his views about the governor, the intendant, the troops, and the cause of the famine of 1700-1701, La Potherie goes on to the matter of the "Strait between the two lakes."

Last year [1701], it was said in Quebec that although you had given orders to M. de Lamothe to begin the post on the Strait, you had nevertheless left the ultimate decision to MM. de Callières and de Champigny, telling them to take whatever action was required by the state of affairs in the colony. There is a rumor, my Lord, to the effect that M. de Callières raised difficulties with regard to this undertaking so as to force M. de Lamothe to take M. de Tonti along, but most likely M. de Lamothe anticipated the governor's wishes in this matter.

Why Callières should use pressure to send Tonti off with Cadillac, we do not know. While in Paris, Cadillac was on very friendly terms with Tonti's brother,³¹ and on this expedition he had everything to gain by associating himself with Tonti who was a seasoned western trader.

Preparations for the journey were made at Montreal, to the consternation of the "merchants, who were in despair at the thought

²⁸ Callières to Pontchartrain, November 9, 1700, in Margry, 5: 172-174.

²⁹ Pontchartrain to Cadillac, May 31, 1701, AC, B 22: 222-222v. The draft is on the back of Cadillac's letter of October 18, 1700, AC, C 11E, 14: 59, printed in MPHS, 33: 100-101.

³⁰ This undated memoir is in AC, F3, 2: 255-268, printed in the *Bulletin des recherches historiques*, 22 (1916): 214-226; extracts in Margry, 5: 180-186.

³¹ Tremblay to Glandelet, May 7, 1700, Archives of the Seminary of Quebec (Laval University), Carton O, n. 28, p. 36.

of founding that establishment. Manthet (an officer, brother of Courtemanche and captain of the guards of M. de Callières), M. Leber, the richest merchant of the colony, and Paquot's wife, vociferously objected to Cadillac's departure." At this juncture, the ship *l'Atlante* reached Quebec with the news that the *Neptune* was due to arrive soon. Those opposed to Cadillac's expedition realized the need of acting at once, and hastily drew up a petition to Callières.

La Potherie gives the following reasons for the widespread feeling at Montreal against Cadillac and his projected post on the Strait. First, the western Indians would find it much more convenient to go to Detroit than to Montreal. Second, most of those Indians were heavily in debt to the Montreal merchants, and would bring their pelts to Cadillac's post instead of paying their more distant creditors. Third, the Montreal fair was the most lucrative event of the year for retail merchants, interpreters and others, who relied on what they earned during the fair to support their family for the rest of the year; but once a post established at Detroit, all this would be gone.

The merchants' hastily prepared petition was not presented to Callières after all, for those who were loudest in their protests underwent a sudden and complete change of attitude. This change can hardly be explained unless one postulates the following reasoning on the part of the objectors. If the *Neptune* did not bring them the desired trade monopoly, they could console themselves by reflecting that they had already sold their merchandise for a good price. On the other hand, if the monopoly came they would have what they wanted, for they were the shareholders of the new Company. At any rate, La Potherie's next words give us a clear idea of what the people of Montreal thought about Cadillac himself: "MM. de Lamothe and Tonti left shortly afterwards. As it is known that the former is not quite in odor of sanctity, and since everyone knows, too, that he was commandant at Michilimackinac he made plenty of money by selling brandy, for which he was reproached by the missionaries, it is thought that this expedition will not be less profitable to him."³²

The departure of Cadillac's expedition before the arrival of the *Neptune* might well have aroused suspicion when reported by Callières to the authorities in Paris. Fortunately, the governor had a more convincing explanation to give for allowing Cadillac to leave

³² "On a jugé que ce voyage là ne luy vaudroit pas moins," and not as Margry has "On a jugé que ce voyage là ne luy vaudroit rien."

at once, and so had no need of referring in his report to the impending arrival of the *Neptune*. In May 1701, Teganisorrens and other Iroquois chiefs were in Montreal, having come to sign the treaty of peace concluded in the preceding year. They naturally objected to the building of a fort on the Strait, and Teganisorrens asked Callières to wait until all the chiefs had arrived before dispatching the convoy, so that this important matter might be discussed before the general assembly.³³

But since he apparently had no official commission to speak about this business, I did not discontinue the preparations for the undertaking, fearing that if the coming chiefs were to ask me not to found this post and if I were to refuse their request, this might prove an obstacle to the peace. On the other hand, if they found the matter all settled and *Sieur de Lamothe* gone, I thought they would not mention it. This is just what happened. I actually convinced them that we had good reasons for founding this establishment, in spite of their suspicions which had been instilled in their minds by the English; for the latter, as I learned last winter, intended to go thither.³⁴ This was an added reason for hastening the departure of *Sieur de Lamothe* and allowing him to take a convoy as strong as he did, lest the English should be there before we were.³⁵

On June 4, 1701,³⁶ "*Sieur de Lamothe* and *Tonti*,³⁷ captains, and the half-pay lieutenants, *Dugué*³⁸ and *Charconacle*,³⁹ set out with one hundred soldiers and settlers,⁴⁰ in twenty-five boats loaded

³³ The speech of this Indian and the answer of Callières are in AC F3, 8: 231-232v.

³⁴ The English were prevented by the Iroquois from building a fort on the Strait. Cf. *ibid.*, 231, and La Potherie's memoir in *Bulletin des recherches historiques*, 22 (1916): 22.

³⁵ Callières to Pontchartrain, October 4, 1701, in Margry, 5: 199.

³⁶ This date is given by Callières in his letter to Pontchartrain of October 4, 1701, Margry, 5: 190, the translation in MPHS, 33: 107, has August 7. The joint letter of Callières and Champigny, October 5, 1701, AC, C 11A, 19: 14v, had the beginning of June. *Tonti* in his letter dated Detroit September 1, 1701, has June 5; and Cadillac gave June 2, in 1702, and June 5, in 1704, MPHS, 33: 137, 202.

³⁷ This was Alphonse *Tonti*. In the list of the officers in New France, Callières noted; "Le sieur de *Tonti*, au Detroit, Bon officier et capable." *Bulletin des recherches historiques*, 26 (1920): 325.

³⁸ Jacques du Gué. He is listed by Callières among the lieutenants. "Le sieur *Duguay*, natif de Canada. Il est détaché au Detroit. Bon officier." *Ibid.*, 330.

³⁹ The name of this officer is spelled in various ways, Chacornales, Charconade, Chacornacle. He came to Canada in 1694. In 1700, he was sent to Fort Frontenac to arrest Louvigny (Callières to Pontchartrain, October 16, 1700, NYCD, 9: 714). He was back in Quebec from Detroit at the beginning of October (Callières and Champigny to Pontchartrain, AC, C 11A, 19: 16), for he had obtained leave to go to France on May 1, 1701 (AC, B 22: 200v). Between 1702 and 1707, his name does not appear in the correspondence concerning the Northwest. All we know is that he died before November 11, 1707. AC C 11A, 26: 205.

⁴⁰ Cf. Cadillac to Pontchartrain, November 14, 1704, MPHS, 33: 202. For their names, see Appendix.

with provisions, goods, stores and necessary tools, to establish the post on the Strait."⁴¹ With the convoy went a Recollect, Father Constantin de l'Halle,⁴² as chaplain of the troops, and a Jesuit missionary for the Indians, Father François de Gueslis. According to Tonti, they went "by way of the Ottawa River, because our general [Callières] did not think it advisable to let us go by the easier and shorter Niagara route,⁴³ for he wished to maintain peace with the Iroquois."⁴⁴

The party came down Lake Huron and the St. Clair River, and crossed Lake St. Clair. On July 24, Cadillac "arrived at the mouth of that river . . . and after having looked for a suitable place built a fort,"⁴⁵ on both sides of Shelby Street, between Wayne and Griswold.⁴⁶ In his letter, Tonti tells us that they took care to build the fort at a point "where the river is narrowest, only a gunshot wide; at all other points it is fully a fourth of a league wide," *i.e.*, about 3700 feet. From the foot of Woodward Avenue, Detroit, across to Ouellette Street, Windsor, the Detroit River is 2460 feet, which is of the second width mentioned by Tonti. He then explains the reason for selecting this spot. From Detroit, he says,

The land extends northward [*i.e.*, eastward] to the Miami country, where there is a river by which one can reach that country in six days, whence it is easy to go to the Mississippi. To the southward [*i.e.*, north-eastward], is a stretch of land at the foot of Lake Huron ending at Toronto on Lake Ontario. The Strait is one hundred leagues away from Michilimackinac, and one hundred leagues beyond Niagara which is one hundred and fifty leagues from Montreal. If this post is permanently established, we have decided to build boats at Cataracouy and convey all necessary sup-

⁴¹ Callières and Champigny to Pontchartrain, October 5, 1701, AC, C 11A, 19: 14v, printed in Margry, 5: 187.

⁴² He came to Canada in 1696, and was killed by the Miami in 1706. For the narratives of his death, see MPHS, 33: 273, 435.

⁴³ The governor had determined upon this route in the previous year. Cf. Callières to Pontchartrain, October 16, 1700, AC, C 11A, 17: 67v.

⁴⁴ Tonti to . . . ? September 1, 1701, from a contemporary copy in the E. E. Ayer Collection of the Newberry Library, Chicago. Four copies of this letter are extant. One in BN, Mss. fr. 9097: 24-25v, dated September 20; another in AC, C 11E, 14: 132-133, printed in MPHS, 33: 131 f; and the fourth in the Library of Congress, printed by Shea in the Cramoisy Series, no. 20, under the title "Relation du Destroit extraite d'une lettre écrite à Monsieur de Pontchartrain," *Relation des Affaires du Canada en 1696*, New York, 1865, 37-42, translated in *The Wisconsin Historical Collection*, 16 (1902): 127-130. The addressee may have been Villermont, certainly not Pontchartrain.

⁴⁵ Callières and Champigny to Pontchartrain, October 5, 1701, AC, C 11A, 19, printed in Margry, 5: 189. In 1704, Cadillac gives the date of his landing as July 29, MPHS, 33: 202.

⁴⁶ See the superimposed plan in C. M. Burton, *Cadillac's Village*, Detroit, 1896, facing p. 8.

plies to Niagara. There we shall build a fort, and have carts kept there to portage merchandise. The merchandise will then be loaded on other boats and brought here. From here the goods can be sent to the Miami country, to Chicago, and to Green Bay, to be used in trade with the tribes, which are very numerous.

The building of the fort was completed about a month after the arrival of the convoy. It consisted of a square enclosure one acre in area, surrounded with oak stakes fifteen feet high which went three feet into the ground. There were four bastions, and each curtains measured thirty fathoms. The south side of the enclosure was forty feet from the river's edge, and the gentle slope formed a natural glacis.⁴⁷

⁴⁷ The details of this description are taken from the letter of Callières and Champigny to Pontchartrain, October 5, 1701, AC, C 11A, 19: 16, printed in Margry, 5: 189; and from Tonti's letter.

APPENDIX

Furent Presens Messire Jean Bochart, cheuallier, Seigneur de Champigny et Noroÿ Conser du Roy En ses Conseils, Intendant de Justice police et finances en tout ce pays de la nouvelle france faisant pour et au nom de sa majesté d'une part et Louis Babie de Champplain, Laurent Renauld du Montreal, Charles Dazé de La riuere des prairies, Jacques Lemoine de Batiscan, Claude Creuier des trois riuieres, René Besnard Bouriolly des trois riuieres, françois Benoit dit Liurnois de longueil, pierre Moriceau du Montreal, Charles Cusson du Montreal, Jean Lemire dit Marsolet du montreal, Jean Baptiste guay du Montreal, Jacques Brisset de lisle du pas, françois frigon de Batiscan, pierre Lagrave du montreal, (andré Babeuf de la prairie, deleted) Pierre St. Michel, Michel Roy de ste anne, Edmon Roy dit Chatelreau de ste anne, Simon Ballarge du cap de la magdeleine, Claude Riuard lorangé de batiscan, Mathurin feuilleuerte, Jean Turcot de charlebourg, Jean Baptiste Montmelian st germain de quebec, pierre desautels dit Lapointe, henry belle isle chirurgien, louis fafart lonual des trois riuieres, françois pancho de batiscan, Jean Baptiste Vanier de charlebourg, pierre toupin de beauport, rené Lintot des trois riuieres, Joseph Cartyé, Jacques duran, pierre Colet de quebec, Alexis lemoine de batiscan, louis Chaüuin du montreal, gabriel obuchon du montreal, latoür du montreal, lambert Cuillerié du montreal, pierre Roy de ste anne, louis Vaudry du montreal, pierre Richard du montreal, Louis Badaillac du Montreal, Guill. Vinet dit La Rente, Jean Baptiste Gatineau & Louis gatineau dit Lameslée

Tous voyageurs Estant de present En Cette ditte ville, d'autre part, Lesquelles partyes ont fait le marché Et Engagemens quy en suiuent Sçavoir que led. voyageurs se sont volontairement de leurs bons gré Engagés, promis, et promettent de servir fidelement le Roi, d'aller au detroit sous la conduite du sieur de Lamote Cadillac quy va comander audit lieu du detroit sous les ordres de Monsr Le Cheuallier de Callieres gouuerneur et lieutenant general pour le Roy En tout ce paÿs de la nouuelle france, auquel ou a celui qui Comandera a sa place, lesdits voyageurs promettent d'hobéir de trauailler, Et de faire tout ce qu'il leur Comandera, pendant lequel temps lesd. voiageurs ne pourront faire aucune traite á leur profit directement ny Indirectement En quelque manierre que ce soit soüs les peynes portées par les ordonnances, Et de perte de leur gages Et salaires cy apres declares, Ce marché fait a la charge que lesd.

Engages seront nourris aux despens du Roy suiuant luzage des voyageurs, Et outre leur sera payé en cette ville ou a leur procureur fondé de procura[t]ion en bonne forme passé devant Nore, pour chacune annee de service a comancer au premier Juin prochain, Sçauoir a chacun desd. louis babie, laurant renauld, charles dazé, Jacques lemoine, Claude Creuier, rené Besnard bourjolj, françois benoit dit liurnois, pierre moriceau, Charles Cusson, Jean lemire dit marsolet, Jean baptiste guay, Jacques brisset, françois frigon, pierre lagraue, (andré babeuf, deleted), Michel roy, Edmon Roy dit chatelreau, Simmon bailliarge, claud riuard lorangé, mathurin feuilleuerte, Jean turcot, Jean Baptiste Montmelian st germain, pierre st michel, Gatineau Duplessy, Desautels, et belle isle

La somme de trois cens liures Monnoye de france qui fait du paÿs celle de quatre cens liures, Et a chacun desd. louis fafard lonual, françois pancho, Jean baptiste vanier, pierre Toüpin, rené lintot, Joseph Cartier, Jacques durant, pierre Colet, alexis lemojne, louis chaüuin, gabriel obuchon, latour, lambert Cuillerié, pierre roy, louis Vaüdry, pierre richard, Louis badaillac la plante [sic], Guill. vinet La Rente, Louis gastineau Lameslee.

La somme de deux cens vint Cinq liures aussi monnoje de france qui fait trois cent liures du paÿs, pour leurs gages Et Sallaires de Ladite annee, Est Conuenu que les peaux des bestes que lesditz voyageurs tueront La moitié leur appartiendront quils remetront au magazin qui sera Estably audit lieu du detroit, dont ils retireront [one word illegible] du garde magazin la moitié desquelles pelleteries leur seront payez sur le poix qui sera conuenu aud. lieu du detroit sinon lesd. pelleteries seront descendues En Cette dite ville aux depens du roy Et Estans En Cette dite ville la moitié d'icelles appartiendront au Roy, Et l'autre moitié ausd. voyageurs. Lesql En cas de maladie seront traites au depens du Roy par le chirurgien qui monte aud. detroit, & que Les armes desdits voyageurs seront raccomodés aussy aux depens du Roy, leur sera Loisible de prendre des peaux de bestes quils tueront pour leur [one word illegible] souliers sauvages pour Leur usage Et a la fin de la premiere année du prnt engage [one word illegible] voyageurs de quitter led. service En aduertissant Led Sr de la mothe par le prem. Convoy qui dessendra. Car ainsy a esté accordé Entre lesd. parties promettant &c, obligeant &c, renoncant &c, fait Et passé aud. Villemarie en l'hostel de Mondit seigneur lintendant Lan mil sept cent un le vint septième Jour de may auant midy (Et a mondit seigneur lintendant signé avec, these words are deleted) En presence des Sieurs Antoine hatanuille et pierre Rivet praticiens temoins aud. villemarie sous-

ignés avec Mondit Seig. Lintendant nommé et nore babie [one word illegible] Edmond et pierre [*i.e.*, Michel] Roy, montmelian, daré, frigon, mathurin, trois Rivard freres Collet, Alexis lemoyne Brisset latour, belle isle, toupin, Lemire, Chauvin, Renaud, Lemoyne Lintost Gatineau longval, bourjoly, claude crevier et Lambert Cuilerié Les autres susnommés ont déclaré ne scavoir lire ni signé de ce enquis suivant Lordce

	Bochart Champigny	Louis Babie
Michel Roy	Monmillian	Charle dazé
Edmon Roy	J f. frigon	Mathurin Riuard
Pierre Colet	Claude Riuard	Alexis lemoyne
françois riuard	puvve vos [?]	
Jacque brissette	Latour	henry Bel Ile
Pierre toupin	Lemire	Chauuin
Laurent renaud	Le Moyne	Rene linctot
L gatineau	Claude Crevier	
Bourjolly	Lonual	Lambert Cuillerier
	hatanuille	Rivet
	Adhemar.	

The following is the alphabetical list of the men who accompanied Cadillac in 1701, the builders of Detroit. In some cases it is impossible to identify the men themselves, because of lack of data. Besides those mentioned in this list, seven more made the voyage: Pierre Gauvrault, Etienne Volant, Bertrand Arnault, Jacques Viger, François Fafart *dit* de Lorme, Pierre Verdon, and Joseph Brault *dit* Pominville. They were all engaged to Champigny on the 27, 28, 31 of May, and on June 3, 1701.

To identify them use was made of C. Tanguay, *Dictionnaire généalogique des familles canadiennes*, volume 1; the "Répertoire des engagements pour l'ouest," in the *Rapport de l'Archiviste de la Province de Quebec pour 1929-1930*, pp. 195 ff; the *Jugements et délibérations du Conseil Souverain de la Nouvelle-France*, volumes 4, 5, and 6; the *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society*, volumes 33 and 34; the *Inventaire des insinuations du Conseil Souverain de la Nouvelle-France*; the *Inventaire d'une collection de pièces judiciaires, notariales, . . . conservées au archives judiciaires de Québec*; and the baptismal register of Detroit.

ARNAULT, BERTRAND. Son of Bertrand and Marguerite Du Musay. Baptized . . . ; married (1) to Jeanne Pellerin on Novem-

ber 26, 1685, and (2) to Louise De Xaintes, on January 12, 1688. While her husband was in Detroit, she was accused of having murdered her child; she was acquitted. At the beginning Arnault was a friend of Cadillac, he was godfather to Marie-Thérèse Cadillac; later, the two quarrelled.

BABIE, LOUIS. Son of Jacques and Jeanne Dandonneau. Baptized in 1674. In 1703, he was accused of having traded at Detroit; and in 1717, his name appears in the Detroit correspondence.

BADAILLAC, LOUIS. All that Tanguay has is that he married Catherine Delalore. In the two following years, his name occurs in two acts as being engaged to the Company of the Colony. The records of the Conseil Souverain show him accused of selling brandy to the Indians; he was found not guilty.

BAILLARGÉ, SIMON. I have not found any details about this man. All that we know is that he was engaged by Duluth for the voyage of Michilimackinac in 1694.

BELISLE, HENRY LAMARRE DIT. Son of Antoine and Marguerite Levasseur. Married (1) to Catherine De Mosny, and (2) to Marie Françoise Dandonneau on May 9, 1711, in Detroit. Tanguay lists him as "médecin." He seems to have remained in Detroit, for his name appears in many acts between 1707 and 1710; in 1706, he was godfather to a daughter of Pierre Roy and Marguerite Sabankik8é.

BENOIT DIT LIVERNOIS, FRANCOIS. Son of Paul and of Isabelle-Elizabeth Gobinet. Baptized on August 9, 1676; married to Angélique Chagnon in 1710. In 1703, he was accused of trading at Detroit. He continues for a few years as a voyageur; for instance, on April 30, 1704, he hired his services to Marguerite Messier, wife of Le Sueur, to accompany her to Mobile; he then seems to have settled at Detroit.

BESNARD DIT BOURJOLY, RENÉ. Son of René and Marie Sadillot. Baptized on September 23, 1670; married to Geneviève Trotier on January 8, 1711. In 1703, he was accused of trading at Detroit.

BRAULT DIT POMINVILLE, JOSEPH. Son of Henry and Claude De Cheurenvile. Baptized on August 24, 1675; married to Marie-Anne Marchand on April 10, 1703; a month later, he was leaving Montreal for Fort Frontenac.

CREVIER, CLAUDE. Among the Creviers in Tanguay, I did not find any by the name of Claude; yet, there was a Claude Crevier at Three Rivers, as the following shows: "Claude Crevier et autres habitants de lad. Ville de trois Rivieres."

CUILLERIE, LAMBERT. Son of René and Marie Lucault. Baptized on February 13, 1682; married to Marguerite Menard in 1707. In 1702, he hired himself to Pierre Chartier to go to the Illinois country. He was dead by 1710.

CUSSON, CHARLES. It is possible that there is a mistake in Tanguay or in the list made by Champigny. Two Cussons came to Detroit in 1706, Joseph and Nicolas; they were the youngest sons of Jean Cusson from Three Rivers. There was a Charles Cusson in Montreal as is seen from two acts dated June 9, 1694, to Duluth for Michilimackinac, and September 20, 1694, to Vincennes for the Ottawa country. I cannot reconcile these two acts.

DAZÉ, CHARLES. Son of Paul and Françoise Goubillot. Baptized on May 7, 1673; married (1) to Barbe Cartier on November 19, 1696; (2) to Jeanne Chartran. He went to Detroit on July 16, 1702.

DESAUTELS DIT LA POINTE, PIERRE. Son of Pierre and Catherine Lorion. Baptized on September 13, 1677; married to Angélique Thuiller. He went to Detroit in 1703 and 1704.

DURAN, JACQUES. ???

FAFART DIT DE LORME, FRANCOIS. Son of François and Marie Richard. Baptized in 1660; married (1) to Madeleine Jobin on November 3, 1683, (2) to Barbe Loisel on October 30, 1713, at Detroit. He was hired as an interpreter for the Ottawa. Fafart obtained a concession in Detroit in 1707. D'Aigremont wrote in 1708: "The brother of the secretary of the Marquis de Vaudreuil left Detroit a long time ago, my Lord, and the man whom he relieved, who is called Delorme has returned there. The truth is that the latter is a cleverer man than the other, and bears the reputation of an honest man." He signed a petition on June 7, 1710, and was turned out of Detroit in the following year.

FAFART DIT LONGVAL, LOUIS. Son of Louis and Marie Lucas. Baptized on May 19, 1675; buried at Three Rivers on March 2, 1703.

FEUILLEVERTE, MATHURIN. This is the nickname of Rivard. Son of Robert and Madeleine Guillet. Baptized in 1667; married to Françoise Trotier on April 20, 1700.

FRIGON, FRANCOIS. Son of François and Mary Chamboy. Baptized in 1674; married (1) to Madeleine Moreau on February 8, 1700, (2) to Marie-Anne Perrot on June 4, 1714. Although on July 28, 1704, he signed to go to Detroit, he apparently did not leave in that year, for we find him in Quebec on August 18; he went to Detroit in 1705.

GASTINEAU DIT DUPLESSIS, JEAN-[BAPTISTE]. Son of Nicolas and Marie Crevier. Baptized in 1671. He went to Detroit in 1702.

GASTINEAU DIT LAMESLEE, LOUIS. Brother of the preceding (?). Baptized in 1674; married to Jeanne Lemoine on January 22, 1710. In 1708, he is in Detroit, where he is godfather to Marguerite Campeau.

GAUVREAU, PIERRE. Son of Nicolas and Simon Bisson. Baptized on April 7, 1674; married (1) to Marie-Anne Desmony on October 8, 1698, (2) to Madeleine Menage on November 23, 1705.

GUAY, JEAN-BAPTISTE. Son of Gaston and Jeanne Prevost. Baptized in 1668; married to Agnès Simon. Vaudreuil and Begon wrote: "The doors of these forts were made by a man called Guay, a carpenter paid by the king."

LAGRAVE, PIERRE. Son of Pierre and Françoise Ouabanois. Baptized in 1674; buried in Montreal on July 11, 1703.

LATOUR, JEAN. This man is found in 1702 and in 1703, as a hired man for the Company of the Colony to go to Detroit; and again in 1704, when he went to the Ottawa country for J. B. Bissot de Vincennes.

LEMIRE DIT MARSOLET, JEAN. Son of Jean and Louise Marsolet. There were two Jean's in this family, one baptized on February 23, 1671; the other on September 6, 1676, married to Elizabeth Bareau on July 30, 1703. This man was hired by the Company of the Colony to go to Detroit on May 30, 1705.

LEMOINE, ALEXIS. Son of Jean and Madeleine de Chavigny. Baptized on April 14, 1680. He was in Detroit in 1710.

LEMOINE, JACQUES. I did not find anybody by this name in Tanguay; however, he went to Detroit in 1706.

LINCTOT, RENÉ. Son of Michel Godfrey and Perrine Picoté. Baptized on May 17, 1675; married to Madeleine Lemoyne. In 1703, he was one of those accused of trading at Detroit.

MONTMELIAN ST. GERMAIN, JEAN-BAPTISTE. ???

MORISSEAU, PIERRE. Son of Vincent and Marie-Anne Beaumont. Baptized in 1678; married (1) to Catherine Caillonneau, (2) to Marie Jetté on May 12, 1721. In 1702, 1704, and 1705, he went back to Detroit as a hired man of the Company of the Colony.

OBUCHON [AUBUCHON], GABRIEL. Son of Jean and Marguerite Sedilot. Baptized on December 25, 1679.

PANCHO, FRANCOIS ???

RENAULT, LAURENT. Son of Antoine and Geneviève Plemaret. Baptized in 1669; married to Anne Guyon on December 25, 1695. In an interminable law suit which dragged on for two years, Renault showed how profitable a voyage to Detroit could be.

RICHARD, PIERRE. Son of Guillaume and Agnès Tessier. Baptized on August 8, 1678. He was in Detroit in 1702, and in the following year hired himself to Laurent Renault to go to the Illinois country.

RIVARD DIT LORANGÉ, CLAUDE. Son of Robert and Madeleine Guillet. Baptized . . . ; married to Catherine Roy on February 14, 1696. He was in Detroit in 1703. In 1704, Cadillac wrote as follows: "The interpreter whom the late M. de Callières and M. de Champigny had appointed at Detroit has been recalled, because he is an upright and skillful man; and they have put in his place one Rivart, called the orange-man [?!], who does not understand Ottawa, of which he is the interpreter."

ROY, MICHEL. Son of Michel and Françoise Hobbé. Baptized . . . ; married to Madeleine Quatresous on February 3, 1712. He returned to Detroit in 1704.

ROY, PIERRE. Married to Marguerite Sabankik8é, a Miami woman. He never left Detroit.

ROY DIT CHATELREAU, EDMOND. Son of Michel and Françoise Hobbé. Baptized . . . ; married to Marie Anne Janvier on February 7, 1701. He returned to Detroit in 1704 and in 1705.

ST. MICHEL, PIERRE-FRANCOIS. Son of François and Marie Madeleine Bertelot. Baptized on March 9, 1680.

TOUPIN, PIERRE. Son of Pierre and Mathurine Graton. Baptized on December 24, 1673.

TURCOT, JEAN. Son of Antoine and Jeanne Mandin. Baptized . . . , married (1) to Marie Rose, on January 12, 1688, (2) to Geneviève Ayot on December 14, 1712.

VANIER, JEAN-BAPTISTE. Son of Guillaume and Madeleine Bailly. Baptized on June 21, 1681; married (1) to Marie Hot on August 18, 1704, (2) to Marie Chamard on June 13, 1712. He did not go back to Detroit.

VAUDRY, LOUIS. All that we know is that in 1703, he was engaged to Renault and Chauvin for the Illinois country.

VERDON, PIERRE. Son of Jean and Marguerite Richer. Baptized on November 28, 1678, married to Marie-Anne Averty on November 6, 1702.

VIGER, JACQUES. Son of Désiré and Catherine Moitié. Baptized on February 7, 1673, married to Marie-Françoise Cesar on May 30, 1695.

VINET DIT LA RENTE, GUILLAUME. Son of Barthélemy and Etienne Alton, Baptized . . . , married to Marie Denis on January 2, 1715.

VOLANT, ETIENNE. Son of Claude and Françoise Radisson. Baptized on October 29, 1664, married to Geneviève Le Tendre on December 9, 1693. Volant was hired by Champigny to be "garde magazin" at Detroit. He signed his name Radisson.

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Portillo of Peru

The Jesuit Approach to Peru

Many writers have assumed or have stated that the widespread activities of the Society of Jesus in the Americas began in Florida in 1566, in Peru in 1568, and in New Spain in 1572. The vanguard of the Jesuits, according to this same approach, was the group of three missionaries sent to aid Pedro Menéndez de Avilés in the evangelization of Florida, while a second group of thirteen led by Father Juan Bautista de Segura arrived in 1568. It is said that they failed completely, like their predecessors, and abandoned the field for Peru and Mexico. These notions stand now in need of considerable revision.

First of all, the American missionary work of the Jesuits was instigated not by Spain but by Portugal.¹ Six months after the papal approval of the new Order in 1540 St. Francis Xavier was sent from Lisbon to Portuguese India.² This patron of missionaries inspired succeeding generations of Jesuits to go to pagan lands. The missionary spirit was inculcated at first chiefly in the Jesuit college of Coimbra,³ where young members of the Order from Spain, France and Italy were sent for training until Philip II allowed their houses to be opened in Spain. The outlet for the missionary spirit was only the Portuguese colonies until 1565 when Philip II reversed his policy and permitted Jesuits to go to his Spanish colonies. Thus, missions were established in India in 1542, in the Moluccas in 1546, in Japan in 1549, and in this same year John III of Portugal had them sent to his bedraggled colony of Brazil.⁴ Next, they went to Ethiopia in 1557, to Monomatapa in 1560, and to Macao in 1565, before the first three arrived from Spain in Florida in 1567. By this time the Jesuit missionary character was well established after field work covering twenty-five years.

¹ Jerome V. Jacobsen, "Jesuit Founders in Portugal and Brazil," *MID-AMERICA*, XXIV (January, 1942), 9-10.

² J. M. Granero, *La acción misionera y los métodos misionales de San Ignacio de Loyola*, Vol. VI of *Bibliotheca Hispana Missionum*, Burgos, 1931, 30 f.

³ Francisco Rodrigues, S.J., *Historia da Companhia de Jesus na Assistência de Portugal*, Pôrto, 1931-1938, Tômoo I, Vol. I, 442-447.

⁴ Francisco Rodrigues, *A Companhia de Jesus en Portugal e nas Missões*, 2nd ed., Pôrto, 1935, 8, 14, 19; this is a compendium of facts and tables concerning the Portuguese provinces and missions of the Jesuits.

The correspondence of missionaries in the Portuguese colonies during this period is full of requests for more men for the missions. The letters from Brazil telling of the promise and the wonders of the Americas plead for help in almost every line.⁵ There Thomé de Sousa arrived at Bahia on March 29, 1549. With him was Father Manuel da Nóbrega and five companions, the first Jesuits on American soil.⁶ Almost immediately this famed founder began to write for more aid, offering as bait a severe life of hardship and possible martyrdom among a primitive and cannibalistic people. Nóbrega's letters are the first of the Jesuit "relations" from the Americas, forerunners of the type of appeal brought into such prominence by Ruben G. Thwaites. They and the letters of the other fathers were read by Jesuits in many of the countries of Europe and in time brought results, though it seems that most of the volunteers for missions asked to be sent to India. However, five of the thirty Jesuits going to Brazil before the Florida expedition were of Spanish origin. It will be interesting to see how knowledge of Spanish-owned Peru arrived at the Jesuit headquarters by the Brazilian-Portuguese route.

The success of Nóbrega, Anchieta, Navarro, Nunes and others in Brazil had much to do with Philip II's decision to let Jesuits enter the Spanish Americas. They had been co-founders of Bahia, the northern colonial capital of Brazil, and they had founded Sao Paulo in the south. Their missions were spreading from coastal centers. Yet Nóbrega had his eyes on the more peaceful tribes of the west in Paraguay and Peru.⁷ He had come in contact with some Guaraní who were captives near Bahia, although already christianized. These were freed and returned south to Paraguay in the care of Father Leonardo Nunes. In 1551 this missionary made an extensive journey into the hinterland and wrote a report on his observations over the six months period.⁸

He noted the possibilities for instruction among the christianized Indians. He found that other tribes were asking for instruction. The field, known vaguely as Peru and Paraguay, appeared

⁵ Cf. Valle Cabral, ed., *Cartas do Brasil, Cartas Jesuiticas*, Rio de Janeiro, 1931, and *Id. Cartas Avulsas*; Serafim Leite, ed., *Novas Cartas Jesuiticas*, São Paulo, 1940.

⁶ Jerome V. Jacobsen, "Nóbrega of Brazil," *MID-AMERICA*, XXIV (July, 1942), 158.

⁷ Serafim Leite, S.J., *História da Companhia de Jesus no Brasil*, Lisbon, 1938, I, 333-335.

⁸ *Ibid.* Nunes had with him four interpreters. His letter and report to Nóbrega is dated June 29, 1552; it is given and discussed by Leite in *Novas Cartas Jesuiticas*, 133.

ripe for the harvest. Thereafter, certain Spaniards visited the South Brazilian coastal town of the Portuguese at Sao Vicente on three occasions, requesting that the fathers go west with them. For two reasons they were not allowed to comply. The land belonged to Spain, and secondly Brazil itself was undermanned. This did not stop the Spanish settlers of Paraguay and Peru from advertising their need for missionaries to Philip II. Lest the Jesuits go to the west and thus leave his colonies in danger of ruin, John III forbade their travel beyond the Line of Demarcation in 1554.⁹ Thus, Portuguese Jesuits aroused a keen interest in western South America and western interest was aroused in them. A year after the edict of prohibition Peruvian officials were petitioning the Spanish king for their services.

Among the many invitations to the Jesuits to come to various lands was that of Don Andrés Hurtado de Mendoza, newly appointed Viceroy of Peru.¹⁰ With him Francis Borgia, the Jesuit Commissioner of Spain and Portugal, discussed plans early in 1555. At the request of Mendoza, Borgia, supposing that the permission of the King and his Council of the Indies had been obtained, set the wheels in motion to get the Jesuits to Peru. Borgia instructed Miguel Torres, the Provincial of Andalucía, to appoint men for this undertaking and suggested the names of several who might be selected.¹¹ Torres then sent Fathers Gaspar de Azevedo and Marcos Antonio Fontova to Seville. There they met Mendoza in August, 1555, prepared to accompany him to his new post in Peru. When Mendoza revealed that he had no license to take them out of Spain, they wrote to Borgia asking him to get the permission. Borgia, however, felt that it was the duty of the Viceroy to apply to the Council. There the matter rested. Mendoza went to Peru and the Jesuits went back to their previous work.

⁹ Leite, *História*, I, 337-342.

¹⁰ The Jesuit historians in their histories of the various provinces of the Jesuits almost invariably begin with the invitations offered and petitions to the King, the Council of the Indies, and the Jesuit headquarters. For a summary of these see *Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu*, (hereafter *MHSI*), Vol. 69, *Monumenta Antiquae Floridae*, (MAF), Ed. by Felix Zubillaga, Rome, 1946, Preface pages 15-42. For the project of the Viceroy Hurtado de Mendoza see *MHSI*, *Epistolae Borgia*, III, 192-197, Borgia to Miguel Turriano, Córdoba, February 21-27, 1555; also Pablo Pastells, *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en la Provincia del Paraguay segun los documentos originales del Archivo General de Indias*, Madrid, 1912, I, 85.

¹¹ *MHSI*, *Epistolae Borgia*, III, 238, Borgia to Loyola, August 23, 1555. Borgia here indicates that the missionaries had not only been appointed but were already on their way through Spain to the embarkation point.

Again in 1559 it seemed probable that Borgia would dispatch six members to Peru. The Conde de Nieva had asked both Borgia and the king for the missionaries.¹² Among those named to go were Father Portillo, rector of the house of probation at Simancas, and Father Bautista de Segura, who was later slain in Virginia. This expedition, too, failed to materialize, although we do not know exactly why, beyond the fact of Philip II's prohibition.

What actually diverted the Jesuits briefly from Peru and brought them to Florida was the glib tongue and business ambition of Pedro Menéndez de Avilés. The story of their fruitless labors and deaths in our southeast has already been told in the previous number of this quarterly.¹³ In this is revealed the fact that Florida was only an episode in a world mission plan and in the particular plan of the Jesuits to evangelize Peru. In fact, it was March, 1567, before the first Jesuit, Brother Villarreal, began instructing Florida natives near present Miami, and it was July before Father Rogel began at Charlotte Harbor.¹⁴ Almost at the same time that Villarreal started his work in Tequesta Portillo was appointed Provincial of Peru, March 22, 1567, and by June 14, before Rogel went to Charlotte Harbor, Portillo had urged abandonment of Florida in favor of Peru.¹⁵ However, Menéndez and the King had their way and in August Segura was made Vice-Provincial of Florida, subject to the jurisdiction of the Provincial of Peru. More shall be said of Portillo's stand against the Florida missions. The point is that the Jesuits had rapidly lost interest in Florida.

The reason for this is now clear.¹⁶ Menéndez had misrepresented the land, the people, and his motives. The land was not productive, and was not close to India or the Moluccas, as he had informed the Jesuits. The people were not longing for the gospel or any form of civilization. The Jesuits were not to be missionaries to them, but rather chaplains to soldiers. The project was primarily one of conquest, exploitation, trade, and business, in which the Jesuits wanted

¹² *MHSI, Epistolae Borgia*, III, 494-503, and 785-786; these two letters, Borgia to Lainez, June 16-19, 1559, cover what is known of the petition of the Conde de Nieva.

¹³ Rosemary Ring Griffin, "Rogel, Padre of the Ports," *MID-AMERICA*, XXX (January, 1948), 3-43. In this article ample references are given regarding other writers on the Jesuits in Florida.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 20-21.

¹⁵ *MHSI, Epistolae Borgia*, IV, 495-498, Portillo to Borgia, July 14, 1567; this is published in *MAF*, 189-191.

¹⁶ The items in this summary paragraph are brought out in Griffin, "Rogel, Padre of the Ports," *loc. cit.* A study on the career of Menéndez prior to his Florida enterprise is in progress at the University of California, Berkeley.

to play no part. In this Menéndez had sunk his fortune and ultimately failed. He not only did not support the Jesuits or their missions but on occasions took their supplies. His soldiers and settlers deserted various posts and forced the missionaries to leave or face death at the hands of the Indians. The Jesuits, then, did not fail in evangelizing Florida—they did not really begin their work. Florida appears now as a harrowing episode in their advance to Peru and New Spain, and they lost heavily in the experience.

One of the chief opponents to the Menéndez enterprise in Florida was Father Jerónimo Rúiz del Portillo, the appointed Provincial and founder of the Jesuit Province of Peru. On June 26, 1567, he wrote to Borgia:

In two or three ways I have advised Your Paternity that it has seemed to the Father Provincial of this Province and to the Father Rector of this college and to me that this mission to Florida should not be undertaken at present, until a more complete report is given Your Paternity regarding what may be hoped for from it.

The information which we have from that vicinity concerning those peoples is that they have no villages and thus they are not an organized people but savage. They thrive on killing each other like wild beasts, and they do not unite except when they sense a strange people; they meet in woods and other wild places and afterwards return to their dens; they go about naked and are very treacherous, for which reason there seems to be scant hope of the fruit which our Company expects in the conversion of these infidels. The father and brother who went there with Father Martínez (who is in glory) are still on the island of Havana, and since the land is not disposed to yield fruit they have not gone there: and so they are with the soldiers of Pero Meléndez, etc. Thus, perceiving how different is the information given me here from that which they tell me has come from Pero Meléndez, namely, that the land is densely populated land with an organized people, etc., I would not dare send Padres to that land until I have the decision of Your Paternity.¹⁷

Portillo goes on to say that he has the king's license to go to Honduras, which he thought would be far more suitable for missionary work than Florida. Two weeks later under date of July 14, 1567, Portillo again wrote to Borgia repeating his distrust of Menéndez and Florida. He adds that Menéndez "has written here saying that, even with 800 soldiers, they did not dare go out from the forts, since each hour the Indians attacked with arrows..." Therefore he did not think it advisable to send more men to Florida. "And so, we twelve will go to Peru, five fathers and five brothers," until Florida is pacified, "since our men do not go to conquer but to evangelize."¹⁸

¹⁷ *MHSI, Epistolae Borgia*, IV, 486-487, and *MAF*, 181-184.

¹⁸ Cf. note 15, above.

Portillo

The story of Father Jerónimo Rúiz del Portillo is in large part the story of the Jesuit educational and missionary beginnings in Peru. His was the task of organizing and directing the initial activities of the Society of Jesus in the vast viceroyalty and of laying the foundations for the subsequent work of the padres for two centuries to come. For ten years before his departure for Peru he had proved himself a capable founder in Spain when the Society was just beginning its career.

When first we hear of Father Portillo he had already distinguished himself as a theologian, an orator, and an administrator. While accounts testifying to his aptitudes in these regards are not scarce, there seems to be very little information about his early life. In 1519 or 1520 he was born in or near the ancient walled town of Logroño in Old Castile, across the Ebro River from Navarre.¹⁹ Here in the north of Spain among the fertile groves of olive trees and vineyards he passed his youth. He moved southwest for his higher education to the university town of Salamanca, about two-hundred miles from his home. There at an early age he was received into the new *Compañía de Jesús*, as the Jesuits were known. Still during the lifetime of its founder, St. Ignatius, Portillo was ordained priest in 1554.

Shortly after his ordination Portillo was sent to the Jesuit house at Simancas where he held the office of minister. His duties in this capacity required him to oversee the household affairs and to take care of the health of the members of his community. This was no small task, because the house was the novitiate and the majority of the young men in it were novices whose temporal affairs he had to superintend. His next office meant a change of rooms at Simancas. He was appointed rector and master of novices. We know only that this took place before 1559, for he held this position when Francis Borgia considered him for the Peru beginnings.²⁰

In 1560 Portillo was selected to become the rector of the Jesuit college at Valladolid.²¹ He spent about five years there, revealing

¹⁹ Enrique Torres Saldamando, "El Primero y el ultimo provincial de la Compañía de Jesús en el Peru," *Revista Historico: Organo del Instituto Historico del Peru*, I (1906), 446-449; F. Mateos, Ed., *Historia General de la Compañía de Jesús en la Provincia del Peru, Cronica Anonima de 1600*, I, Introduction, 11. This work has the value of a contemporary document.

²⁰ *MHSI, Epistolae Borgia*, III, 494-503, especially 501, 502.

²¹ Felix Zubillaga, *La Florida, La Misión Jesuítica (1566-1575) y La Colonización Española*, Rome, (1942 ?), 215. For the following character sketch see Mateos, *Historia General*, I, 6-7 of the text; in vol. II the frontispiece is a good photograph of an old painting of Portillo.

traits that were to be characteristic throughout his life. Humility was a keynote of his personality. His even disposition and serene appearance commanded the respect of those whom he encountered. He was capable of analyzing and treating problems without being handicapped by bias or emotional impulses. Yet, having once reached a decision or once convinced of the correctness of his position, he stood his ground forcefully, as may be seen from his adamant stand against partaking in the Menéndez expedition and from several encounters in Peru. His oratorical ability, which is noted by all who have accorded him even slight mention, was exceptional. His voice rang clearly and his sermons were direct. He could be disturbingly frank without evoking criticism or antagonism. The power that he lent to words made him known to many as "the trumpet of God." Although he could be and frequently was stern in his admonitions, he avoided all semblance of criticism of the man to be admonished and rebuked rather the fault.

When Pedro Menéndez managed to persuade both his king and Francis Borgia to send Jesuits to Florida, Portillo seemed a likely candidate for the superiorship. It was in May of 1565 that the Jesuit Vicar-General noted Portillo's qualifications for the task and recalled his long-expressed desire to serve in the foreign missions.²² But Portillo had just been appointed vice-provincial of the growing province of Castile and his services in the pulpit and confessional were in demand. Consequently, others were assigned to the Florida field. With this opening of the Americas to the Jesuits now a fact, petitions for them of bishops and others in the colonies continued to reach Madrid and Rome.

At the beginning of 1566 we find Portillo stationed at Valladolid assigned to the chancery office of the diocese as an advisor.²³ There he remained while the fleet carrying the three Jesuits to Florida sailed on June 28. Apparently, in October of this same year he was designated superior of the missionaries in the Americas by Father Borgia, for he writes to the General expressing his happiness on receiving an appointment and instructions in October and November.²⁴ Moreover, his letters beginning with 1567 indicate that he had considerable to say about the mission in Florida—and its futility.

Indications that Portillo was in charge of the Jesuit affairs in

²² *MAF*, 9, Borgia to González.

²³ *Ibid.*, 32, n. 5, and 45, n. 2, and 59.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, Preface, p. 44. Portillo's letter here quoted is dated Dec. 2, 1566, which Zubillaga says will be published in the forthcoming *Monumenta Peruviae*.

the Americas appear in his letter of January 20, 1567, to Borgia.²⁵ He writes from Madrid saying that he has conferred with the President of the Council of the Indies who had announced a licence for twenty-four to go to the Indies. He says that only eight are going to Peru, and that eight should be sent to Mexico. The others could be sent possibly to Honduras and Popayán, New Granada. The unwillingness of the Jesuits to participate in the Florida affair and their desire to go elsewhere in the Americas is clear from the letters of the Spanish provincials in the early part of this year.²⁶ When news of the death of Martínez reached Spain in March the same provincials were loath to release men for any of the Americas. After Portillo was appointed provincial of the province-to-be in Peru, he had a difficult time getting men from the Spanish provinces until Borgia ordered the provincials to make the appointments. Clearly, Portillo was quite able to appreciate the minds of the provincials who did not want to waste men on Florida and he was quite aware also of Borgia's desire to get men into the American field.

It required tact to handle another situation that had developed in Spain. Menéndez wished to obtain as many of the Jesuits as he could and these for Florida alone. Philip II, however, wanted some to go to Peru and to Honduras. On this point Portillo was able to compromise for the time by allowing the Florida mission to continue and by appointing Segura as a vice-provincial in August, 1567.²⁷ So skeptical was he of the outcome in the wilds of our southeast that he named Father Sedeño as a successor in emergency, and Father Rogel as a third. His letter of July 14, cited above, indicates his distrust of the outcome.

During the early summer Portillo was making arrangements and gathering his men for the journey to the west. He had planned to sail in August from Seville with eleven companions, but the changes made because of the decision to reinforce the Florida group and the shifts in personnel forced him to wait.²⁸ Whether he paid any farewell visits to friends or relatives remains unknown, but in the course of several months he had assembled his force of helpers at Sanlúcar de Barrameda and had them prepared for the embarkation. His seven companions recruited from the four provinces of Spain were Father Antonio Alvarez and Brother Francisco de Medina from Toledo, Father Diego de Bracamonte and Brother Juan

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 161; this letter is given in part by Zubillaga in his preface to Document 48.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, Documents 46-55, 159-181.

²⁷ *MHSI, Epistolae Borgia*, IV, 533, 537, 539, 697.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 495, Portillo to Borgia from Seville.

García from Andalucía, Father Miguel Fuentes and Brother Pedro Pablo Llovet from Aragon, and Father Luis López, like Portillo, from Castile.²⁹ They sailed November 1, 1567.³⁰

Bon Voyage

After what was for those days a rather quick journey of fifty-two days the ships cast anchor off Cartagena. They had stopped on November 11 at Las Palmas and had resumed their way on the following day. No pirates or storms livened the trip. Disembarking they found shelter in a "hospital" for the poor on Christmas Eve. They spent their Christmas visiting the sick, Spaniards, natives, and Negro slaves alike, and for the remaining ten days of their stay in the walled town they went about hearing confessions, preaching and instructing.

The ship weighed anchor for Nombre de Dios on January 3, 1568. On the way a violent storm nearly wrecked it, but despite the danger Portillo remained perfectly calm without moving from his place.³¹ The exact time of their arrival on the north coast of the Isthmus of Panama is not known, but as soon as they left the ship and set foot in Nombre de Dios they made their way to the church to give thanks to God for their safe journey. Here there was no hospice, hence the townsmen lodged them in their various homes. Portillo very soon remedied the housing difficulty. In his preaching he stressed the need for a hospital to such effect that the people contributed 3,000 pesos to start the work.

Within a few days the Black Robes bade adieu to Nombre de Dios, packed their meagre belongings, and took the trail over the eighteen leagues of jungle mountains toward Panamá. Whether they rode the burros or walked appears to be an item of no note. To avoid a welcoming reception they delayed their entry into Panamá until an unseasonable hour, and then hastened to the convent of the Franciscans, where they were hospitably received and given every consideration. Here they would have to wait until a ship was going south to Lima.

During their stay Portillo and the others busied themselves with their customary preaching and administrations of the Sacraments.

²⁹ Mateos, *Historia General*, I, Introduction 11, and n. 9. Father Mateos here corrects Sacchini and Astrain regarding Medina; this was Francisco de Medina, not Luis; Mateos also changes the spelling of another name to Llovet, from the more common Lobet found in other authors.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, I, Text page 7, n. 7; the more common date for the sailing is Nov. 2.

³¹ *Ibid.*, I, 8.

From the pulpit the provincial inveighed against avarice which led men to violate contracts and to cheat. The spirit of Panamá was apparently too commercial and injustice too common. Despite his censures the Panamanians contributed 14,000 ducats to the Society to continue its work, and this, it might be added, even though it could be called conscience money by a skeptic, was more than Philip II had contributed. How sore a spot Portillo had touched is revealed by the fact that many came to repent and to resolve to amend their ways. Moreover, the principal merchants, a chamber of commerce as it were, drew up regulations to eliminate cheating and injustice.

Thus affairs continued until February 22, 1568, the embarkation day. The cabildo begged Portillo to remain in Panamá or to assign some of the fathers for work in the city, which, of course, Portillo could not do in the face of his assignment to Peru. To the sadness of all two Jesuits did remain, one forever in Panama. With sanitary conditions such as they were at that time and such as they continued to be until this century, it is little wonder that the perennial fever should stalk the fathers as it had so many other visitors. Father Alvarez became so seriously ill that he could not go aboard. Portillo left him under the care of Brother Medina and a Portuguese carpenter named Juan Ruiz.³² Alvarez passed away shortly afterward, and Juan Ruiz sailed with Medina for Lima, where he soon joined the Company as a temporal coadjutor, or lay brother.

Portillo and the others navigated the Mar del Sur down the coast of South America to Paita and from Paita to Callao in the record time of thirty-six days.³³ Ordinarily this coastal vessel made the voyage of some 1,300 statute miles against the winds in several or more months, what with delays and stop-overs. They arrived at Paita on March 18 and landed five hundred miles beyond at Callao on Sunday, March 28, 1568. In the little seaport entrance to the

³² Jacinto Barrasa, Ms. *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en el Perú*, p. 68. This work has been so often cited that it may be said to be almost published. From the time of its writing at the end of the seventeenth century until 1885 no modern copy was made. For a critical evaluation see Mateos, I, Introduction, 70-76. See also on the Panamá stay Antonio Astrain, *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en la Asistencia de España*, Madrid, 1902-1925, IV, 308.

³³ Mateos, *Historia General*, I, Introduction, 81, corrects the text, 13-14, which has twenty-six days. Father Anello Oliva, *Historia del Perú y Varones Insignes en Santidad de la Compañía de Jesús*, Lima, 1895, I, 161, follows the anonymous *Historia* in this error; Oliva uses much of the *Historia* in his work, as do other writers on the Jesuit entrance into Peru.

kingdom of Peru they stayed until April 1, preaching and hearing confessions.

Meanwhile some of the fellow passengers and the seamen of the voyage who had pushed on quickly from the port to Lima, brought word to the capital of the Black Robes. The Lima officials and inhabitants prepared a welcome. First, a deputation from Lima arrived to offer Portillo the respects of Peru. Next, Portillo planned to avoid the reception, as he had done at Panamá, by making an entrance when the citizens were napping or otherwise engaged. In this he was thwarted, since with them on shipboard had been the Vicar General and the Provincial of the Dominican fathers, who had kindly offered the Jesuits the hospitality of the Dominican convent in Lima. The final result was that the religious all traveled together over the eight leagues from Callao to Lima.

The band was received with joy and no little curiosity on the part of the people.³⁴ Once they were sheltered in the Convent of Rosario, the prominent citizens, the Church dignitaries led by Archbishop Jerónimo de Loaysa, and Garcia de Castro, President of the Audiencia and acting-Governor, made official visits, as was the custom. In response to the welcomes of the people and officials, Father Portillo took the pulpit on the following Sunday, April 4, to express his gratitude and to explain the purpose of the new Society. He had no sooner made the sign of the cross at the beginning of his discourse than a sharp tremor rocked the church. The congregation rushed out, leaving the preacher alone. When fear of further shocks had vanished the people returned to hear the sermon. The provincial's explanation of the origin, the constitutions, and the work of the Jesuits satisfied his hearers.

The Center at Lima

Portillo could now survey the field of his adoption from his vantage point in the City of the Kings. Peru at the time was only on the threshold of political and religious organization. The era of the individualistic *conquistadores* had been followed by a period of civil disorder that rendered the task of organization difficult, especially in view of the vastness of the viceroyalty, which included practically all of Spanish South America. Much of the land was unexplored, but the key bases for future expansion had been established.

³⁴ Mateos, *Historia General*, I, 13-23; Oliva, I, 161-164; Astrain, IV, 308, and others down to Rubén Vargas Ugarte, *Los Jesuitas del Perú*, Lima, 1941, all agree on the welcome and the first days of the fathers in Peru.

While Lima was the capital, the center in the highlands was Cuzco. From this center civilization seemed to have sloped away until it ended among the more savage tribes in Chile, Argentina, the Gran Chaco, western Brazil, and the back lands of Ecuador, Colombia, and Venezuela.

Though the Indians were remarkably quiet during the first twenty years of the Spanish occupation, the newcomers had brought no good examples of the civic quality of order. Only in April, 1548, with the beheading of the revolutionary Gonzalo Pizarro, did some peace begin. Yet by this time there were gold rushes to the mountains and a new and typically lawless mining society was developing. To check the various abuses Spain sent the capable Antonio de Mendoza as viceroy in September, 1551.³⁵ He died in July of the following year and new troubles came when one Girón led a rebellion against the inefficient authorities. When he was apprehended and executed in 1555 there were about 8,000 Spaniards in all Peru.³⁶

The next of the viceroys was Andrés Hurtado de Mendoza, who arrived on June 29, 1556, and clamped an iron hand on the malcontents until his death in 1560. The fourth viceroy, Conde de Nieva Zúñiga, came in 1561 and died in 1564. With three out of four viceroys dying in Peru and the other escaping the rebels by a hair's breadth, the office had little attraction for the Spanish nobility. It was five years before the next arrived, Francisco de Toledo y Figueroa, who ruled from November 30, 1569, till September 23, 1581. Hence, when the Jesuits arrived the Audiencia was in charge.

Religious and educational organization was also just beginning. In 1546, three years after he was appointed Lima's first bishop, Loayza was named archbishop of the area from Nicaragua to Chile. By 1568 there were thirteen dioceses from Panamá through Spanish South America, but only seven had bishops.³⁷ The Order of St. Dominic was the first established in Lima.³⁸ In 1538, a band of twelve reinforced the few who had established the convent of San Rosario in 1535. Then followed the Franciscans, the Mercedarians,

³⁵ Arthur S. Aiton, *Antonio de Mendoza, First Viceroy of New Spain*, New York, 1927.

³⁶ Bernard Moses, *Spanish Rule in America*, New York, 1929, 134.

³⁷ F. X. Hernández, *Documentos Relativos a la Iglesia de America*, Brussels, 1879, II, 124-125, 127, 145, 156, 165, 169, 178, 184, 256, 292, 299-305, 317-325, gives sixteen papal Bulls erecting the dioceses.

³⁸ José Gabriel Navarro, "Fundación de Conventos en la America Español," *Boletín de la Academia Nacional de Historia*, Quito, XXIII (1943), 22-23. Fernando Montesinos, *Anales del Peru*, Madrid, 1906, I, 201.

and the Augustinians until all convents by 1551. Even so, the number of workers was far too few for the widespread kingdom of Peru. These, besides caring for the parochial needs and caring for Indians in and near the chief cities, had begun to instruct the children in parochial schools. The most notable beginning in higher education had been made by the Dominicans when their lecture courses at San Rosario developed a desire for a university and when the University of San Marcos of Lima was established in 1553.³⁹

Having glanced at conditions in Peru and having arranged for what became more than a year's visit in the home of the Dominicans Portillo busied himself with the paramount task of organizing the work of his province. General instructions given to him by Borgia in March, 1567, were grouped under seven larger headings.⁴⁰ First, the fathers were to restrict their foundations to a few localities and were not to undertake more tasks than they could continue. Second, the provincial was to establish and reside in a main house, and carefully select superiors to govern the other residences. Third, the fathers were to concentrate upon instructing natives in the cities who had already been baptized and had received little practical training in religion. Fourth, those who entered areas not completely under Spanish control could reside in some protected town or fort. Fifth, before working among the pagan Indians the fathers were to study the language and acquire a knowledge of the native temperament and rites, then try to win over the tribal leaders. Sixth, the Jesuits were to avoid all undue danger and not risk their lives. Here he approved the desire on the part of some to win a martyr's crown, but he noted that men were needed and that they could serve God as well, possibly better, and certainly longer, by living for the Faith rather than by dying for it. The seventh instruction ordered written reports from the provincial and superiors, which were to include descriptions of the land, climate, people, and progress, and thus afford an opportunity to judge the needs and activities of the remote provinces of the Society.

These measures pertained as can be seen to the instruction and

³⁹ John Tate Lanning, *Academic Culture in the Spanish Colonies*, New York, 1940, 19. There is, of course, a long bibliography on this University, but see especially, David Rubio, *La Universidad de San Marcos de Lima durante la Colonización Española*, Madrid, 1933, 21, 43-44. Regarding the educational training and aims of the Jesuits reference must be made to Jerome V. Jacobsen, *Educational Foundations of the Jesuits in Sixteenth Century New Spain*, Berkeley, 1938, Chapters I and II.

⁴⁰ For these instructions see *MHSI, Epistolae Borgia*, IV, 419-421, and Felix Zubillaga, "Métodos Misionales de la Primera Instrucción de San Francisco de Borja para la América Española (1567)," in *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu*, Rome, XII (1943), 58-88.

conversion of the Indians, but Portillo had first to establish educational foundations, since the very word province in the Jesuit scheme implied a central college for the training and education of younger members. No funds were budgeted for the project nor was there any endowment at Rome or in Spain available or even thought of for its inauguration. The king's coffers furnished transportation and thereafter considered that the Jesuits should finance themselves by begging. With what was given as free-will offerings Portillo was to build the physical outlines of a province—colleges, residences, and missions. No remuneration could be demanded for the services of his band.

Portillo had first to find a house to rent and then find the rent. He had to show the officials and people that an investment in the services of the Jesuits would be worthwhile. Therefore he did much preaching and distributed his men in needy areas of labor. Miguel de Fuentes besides spiritual ministrations organized a class in Latin grammar for the creoles; López visited the sick and dying, and began instructing Negro slaves. Bracamonte was named rector. The brothers taught catechism to the children. All began to learn the Indian language and set about organizing religious confraternities.

The popular response was good and so was that of the high official, García de Castro. He wrote to Philip II that if His Catholic Majesty wished Peru to be in peace and quiet he had better send more Jesuits.⁴¹ The people contributed so well that by June Portillo had a lot and a residence and the beginning of a fund for a college and church.⁴² Backed by Castro and Archbishop Loaysa, the oldest oider of the Audiencia, Doctor Cuenca, proved an energetic chairman of the drive for funds. He got contributions of money, of building materials, of furniture, and of slave labor for the work. Citizens who could not afford larger gifts gave food, table articles, and chapel supplies. The house was not large but it satisfied the needs of the fathers. Its patio was surrounded by a high wall, at least for a brief time. The chapel was too small to accomodate the men who wished to attend services and the women were forbidden to enter the house, consequently Portillo moved the altar outdoors under the portico, erected a pulpit, and allowed the congregation into the patio. When this proved too small a space he had the wall opposite the altar taken down. This temporary chapel was used for six years while the large church was being built.

⁴¹ Astrain, IV, 309-310; Oliva, 173-174.

⁴² Mateos, *Historia General*, I, 24-28, for the description in this paragraph; Oliva, 161-164, uses the same source.

The sermons, the retreats, the administrations of the sacraments, the instructions, the organization of pious confraternities, the services in this chapel had the effect of reforming the customs of Lima and bringing about a notable spiritual revival.

Portillo's voice from the pulpit became known throughout the city as it won many converts to a better life and brought a number of men to the doors of the residence asking for admission to the Society. The problem of manpower began to resolve itself a month after the Jesuits arrived, when Portillo accepted the first applicant. Pedro Messia, lawyer and fiscal of the Royal Audiencia of Lima, was accepted as a novice on May 2, 1568. Father Fuentes was appointed director of novices, and before the end of that year thirty were admitted to the preliminary training.⁴³ These men had been engaged in various professions. Francisco López de Haro, secretary to acting-Governor Castro, the author Juan Guitérrez, the *mayorazgo* Martín Pizarro, the first creole to join the Company in Peru, three soldiers, two carpenters, were put through the severe training course along with the former dean of the cathedral, Juan Toscano, and the second canon of Cuzco, Cristóbal Sánchez, who was in Lima representing the Bishop of Cuzco when he first came in contact with the Jesuits and promptly decided to become one.

With this influx obviously an educational program would have to be begun. The Jesuit system of education called for courses in the classics and the basis of this was the study of Latin. A Latin class of forty boys had been inaugurated by Father Fuentes at the very outset, chiefly at the request of the citizens who wished both to educate their sons and keep them out of mischief for which there seemed to be plenty of opportunity.⁴⁴ Since the number of students increased and since they were of varying ages and talents, Fuentes had to divide them into different groups. These classes and those held for the Jesuit students, or seminarians, kept Fuentes busy.

Constructing the college building which was to be the Colegio Máximo, the central college of the Jesuits in the viceroyalty, was begun shortly after the residence had been built. The site, where long years afterwards in republican times the Penitenciario de San Pablo was erected, was selected and was to be paid for by the cabildo and audiencia.⁴⁵ Castro described the location as "... the square that borders on the *capitania* of Diego de Asuero, from the point

⁴³ Mateos, *Historia General*, I, 39-54; Oliva, 180 ff.; Astrain, II, 314. The first source gives general biographical data about the men named here. Not all of the thirty persevered; the majority became lay brother members.

⁴⁴ Mateos, *Historia General*, I, 69; Astrain, II, 310-311.

⁴⁵ Saldamando, *ut cit.*, note 19 above, I, 448.

where the houses of Gaspar Báez are to the houses of Diego Porras, and on the other side as far as the houses of Adrian Merino."⁴⁶ For this Castro granted 2,200 pesos from the royal hacienda in June, 1568, and by the same time urged by Castro and Archbishop Loaysa and Doctor Cuenca the contributions from individuals amounted to 12,718 pesos.⁴⁷ The *colegio* was called San Pedro y San Pablo.

As the years passed the smaller individual donations continued to support the college staff, the pastors of the adjacent church, and the young Jesuits in the novitiate or in their studies. More notable patrons appeared, especially Don Martínez Renifo and his wife, who gave an hacienda in the valley of Chancay, a house, and another hacienda in the valley of Ate, October 14, 1581. The rentals and garden products from these were of great aid. Still, more income was needed in 1582, but when the Jesuits asked the royal officials for 1,000 pesos annually, they received only 200 for the occasion. The crown after all could claim little credit for the establishment of education, since the colonials supported the institutions and the Jesuits contributed their services.

Portillo's workers and students increased gradually.⁴⁸ When Don Francisco de Toledo was appointed Viceroy, November 26, 1568, he requested Borgia to allot more men to Peru, in view of the reports of the officials there about their good work. Borgia had likewise received requests from the colonial officers, and so too had Phillip II. The latter asked for twenty. Borgia could send only ten at the time, but when Toledo sailed from Sanlúcar on March 19, 1569, he had with him an even dozen. "This second expedition paid its tribute to the temple of the tropics, for Father Juan García died in Panamá," during a layover of two months. Eleven Jesuits reached Lima November 8. The third group from Spain did not arrive at Callao until April 27, 1572. It consisted of two unordained Jesuits who later became prominent, and the famed Father José de Acosta. The fourth contingent of thirteen arrived May 31, 1575, with the *Visitador*, Father Plaza. Two had died on the way, one at sea, and one in Panamá.

With the arrival of the group of Jesuits in November, 1569, Portillo felt safe in directing the next steps in the progress of his

⁴⁶ Pastells, *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en la Provincia del Paraguay*, I, 4.

⁴⁷ Ruben Vargas Ugarte, *Manuscritos Peruanos en las Bibliotecas del Extranjero*, Lima, 1935, II, 164-165. See also on these donations E. Torres Saldamando, "Un Filántropo," *Revista Historica*, III (1908), 308.

⁴⁸ Mateos, *Historia General*, I, Chapters X and XI, 80-86 of text and introduction 14-15; here Mateos in his notes gives the names of the newcomers, and corrects the previous errors.

cultural and missionary center.⁴⁹ Father Fuentes had been the "faculty" of the Latin school. Now Juan Gómez, still to be ordained, became the instructor in the higher Latin courses and Father Antonio Martínez began to lecture in logic and philosophy. Thus, step by step, the process of growth continued as courses in religion, poetry, rhetoric, and metaphysics completed the arts college curriculum typical of European education of the century. When Acosta arrived he introduced the first lectures in theology in 1572 and with it moral theology, though Portillo had been conducting conferences in the latter. While these were instituted chiefly for the Jesuit students, lay students interested in law might attend the lectures on canon law. The aspect of the student body of the Colegio Máximo in these early days was unique, for around the building and in the patio there were little boys of grade school age, older boys of high school age, young men, young Jesuits, and mature men from various walks of life pursuing higher studies.

Now that the parochial duties were organized for the help of the citizens and the educational program was well launched, the missionary work was pushed.⁵⁰ Father Bracamonte had begun to learn the Indian languages on his arrival and by the end of 1569 he was directing catechists in the instruction of approximately 3,000 Indian children in the vicinity of Lima. In the first months of 1570 the Jesuits assumed care and management of an Indian center on the outskirts of Lima called Santiago del Cercado, or, more commonly, El Cercado, where by a decree of Castro two fathers and a brother were sent to live. Here a school was established for the children, religion was taught the grown-ups, and the old and infirm received care. Spaniards and creoles were forbidden to enter this *barrio*. The area was originally an *encomienda* surrounded by a wall, but was purchased by Castro for 15,326 pesos. The Jesuits saw to the erection of a chapel, a residence for themselves, homes for the natives, and a hospital.

At the insistence of the viceroy and archbishop the area of missionary activity was greatly extended. Outside Lima a strip of land along the slope of the Andes was inhabited by Huarochirí Indians who were scattered in seventy-seven little villages. The viceroy or-

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, I, Ch. VIII, 66-70, and Ch. XII, 98-102; these with the letters of appointments in *MHSI, Epistolae Borgia*, IV, 610, 620, 631, 641, are the sources for this paragraph; on Toledo see Arthur F. Zimmerman, *Francisco de Toledo, Fifth Viceroy of Peru, 1569-1581*, Caldwell, Idaho, 1938, 54-60.

⁵⁰ Mateos, *Historia General*, I, Ch. XIII, 103-109, (which was used by Astrain, II, 310, and others).

dered these to be organized into one mission district of eight villages. Steps to effect this were taken early in 1570 when Bracamonte was sent as the superior. By November he with four fathers, two brothers, and two catechists were instructing the natives in the area, named Huarochirí, and endeavoring to win them into the reductions. This work continued until 1572 when trouble arose between the Jesuits on the one side and the viceroy and archbishop on the other, which caused the padres to withdraw from the field.

The Center at Cuzco

"Having put in order the affairs of the college in Lima and having reaped admirable fruits of his preaching and other means which he adopted for the good of that city, and aided by the arrival of the first helpers from Europe in 1569, within a short time Father Gerónimo de Portillo betook himself to Cuzco, 130 leagues from Lima, . . . and began the college which the Company has there."⁵¹ The occasion for the trip of Portillo to the old Inca capital with its dense Indian population was the inspection tour of Viceroy Toledo.

Toledo had arrived from Spain with instructions to organize the viceroyalty more efficiently. To do this he decided to visit the area, study its needs, and remedy evils.⁵² The project necessitated his absence from Lima for five years on journeys totaling over 5,000 miles. The personnel of the group assisting him included capable military leaders, political advisors, scholars, and clerics. Portillo and three companions traveled with the expedition which departed from Lima on October 22, 1570. Following the royal road they passed through the Guarochirí district and arrived at Ayacucho December 15. Here the entourage remained while the Jesuits continued on to Cuzco, where they arrived in early January, 1571. Toledo reached there in mid-February.

Portillo, Father Luis López, and Brothers González and Ruiz were given an enthusiastic formal reception by the cabildo, headed by Captain Don Juan Ramón, and many of the important people. Since the episcopal see was vacant at the time the dean of the cathe-

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, I, 120, where the anonymous author of 1600 has only one paragraph as his Ch. XVI on the Cuzco foundation. In Vol. II, however, the first fourteen chapters are devoted to Cuzco and its vicinity.

⁵² Zimmerman, *Francisco de Toledo*, 90-92; Roberto Levillier, *Don Francisco de Toledo, supremo organizador del Perú, su vida, su obra, 1515-1582*, Madrid, 1935, 210; also, *Colección de Documentos inéditos relativos al descubrimiento, conquista, y colonización de la posesiones españolas de América y Oceanía*, Madrid, 1864-1884, VII, 247, (hereafter *Documentos Ined.*).

dral welcomed the newcomers.⁵³ The hospital offered them rooms. In the high, mountainous capital of the Incas the Jesuits immediately went about exercising their customary ministeries. Portillo apparently preached as one inspired, and the officials begged him to take the cathedral pulpit on January 15, the great feast day of the city. The entire city, we are told, was present on the occasion. His success is indicated by the demands of the civic leaders that the Company establish itself in Cuzco.

As he visited the environs Portillo became more and more taken with the prospects. He beheld in the great numbers of Indians a great field for his workers and decided to make arrangements for a permanent residence. A messenger was sent to Toledo, who was still in Ayacucho, to procure the necessary license. The viceroy had already been so petitioned by the cabildo. He delivered his reply in person on his arrival in Cuzco. Not only did he grant the permission but he also assigned a *repartimiento* grant of 12,500 pesos toward the foundation.⁵⁴

It is clear from what followed that Portillo had in his mind a center at Cuzco for the training of missionaries to the Indians and even a center for educating Indians, just as he had in mind an Indian school at far-off Havana for the training of Florida Indians. For this Indian cultural center he chose the exact site whereon the palace of the Inca Huanya Capac had once stood. On this site there was now the residence formerly owned by Hernando Pizarro, *conquistador*.⁵⁵ It was located on one side of the main plaza beside the cathedral. Though the old building needed repairs Portillo fancied it as a residence for the coming spiritual conquest. He negotiated the purchase with the cabildo for the 12,500 pesos. The city officials, in accord with the instructions of the viceroy, contributed toward the alterations and toward the building of a church, which required years for completion. The padres became occupants of the residence after three months with Father López as temporary superior.

From their entrance into the city the Jesuits and their project came under the motherly care of the most important Spanish lady of the land, Theresa Ordóñez, wife of Don Diego de Silva Guzmán,

⁵³ Vargas Ugarte, *Los Jesuitas del Peru*, 8-9. Mateos, *Historia General*, II, 5-13, gives many details of Portillo's welcome, his sermons, and the beginnings of many pious practices.

⁵⁴ Vargas Ugarte, *Los Jesuitas del Peru*, 9.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.* Also see Torres Saldamando, *Revista Historica de Lima*, I, 453-454.

the most important encomendero. The señora sent them all of their food supplies for six years. She was so famous throughout the land for her goodness and charity that, as the old chronicler says, "it would take a very large history to recount the deeds of this señora."⁵⁶ She and Don Diego at the outset heartened Portillo with a donation of 20,000 pesos for the college foundation and in 1572 added 10,000 to their gift. They are enshrined in the memory of the Jesuits of Peru as the "Founders of the College of Cuzco."

After establishing the residence Portillo, probably in the middle of 1571, returned to Lima, and from there sent Bracamonte to Cuzco as rector. By 1573 there were fourteen Jesuits residing in the house, seven of whom were novices preparing themselves in Indian languages and customs, hence we conclude that Portillo had sent them up into the mountain city from Lima according to his well laid plan of 1570. Among the priests and brothers sent were the creole Blas Valera and the mestizo Bartolomé de Santiago, who, like Ruiz, were familiar with the Quechua and Aymará languages. More renowned than these for his many years of missionary work was the Andalusian, Father Alonso de Barzana, who arrived from the Lima missions in 1572.⁵⁷

These missionaries cared for the Indians of the city and also established three missions in the valleys. Scholastic activities, that is the formal beginnings of Latin, were probably going on during these early years, but it was not until Portillo began his rectorship in 1576 that the Colegio de San Bernardo, began its long educational program. Later, Portillo during his incumbency as rector established, with the aid of generous donations, two chairs in the humanities, and three in dogmatic and moral theology.⁵⁸ This implies that sometime before 1576 courses in Latin, poetry, rhetoric, and logic were being given. While Indians were in attendance from the beginning Portillo's ultimate goal of a college for *caciques* was not reached until 1621 when the Colegio de San Francisco Borgia was officially founded. Two years later, San Bernardo became the Universidad de San Ignacio de Loyola.⁵⁹

⁵⁶ Mateos, *Historia General*, II, 15.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, I, 87-97 of text, and II, 35-46. Barzana looms as probably the greatest of the Jesuit missionaries in Peru during the sixteenth century; see Mateos' notes for his letters and bibliography.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, II, Ch. IV, 14-16.

⁵⁹ Domingo Angulo, "Documentos sobre los Antiguos Colegios de Caciques Fundaciones, Provisiones, Constituciones," *Revista del Archivo Nacional del Peru*, I (1920), 355-358; Torres Saldamando, *Los Antiguos Jesuitas del Peru*, 169.

Provincial Cares

Owing to a misunderstanding of the Jesuit constitutions on the part of both Toledo and Archbishop Loaysa, trouble was awaiting Portillo when he returned to Lima, and this was strung out over a long period of time because of the distance between the provincial and the viceroy and the distance to Madrid and Rome. Toledo and Loaysa were friendly to the Jesuits before, during, and after the points in dispute were settled, consequently the argument must be classified as typical of all such arising in formative periods when jurisdictions are unclarified and strong men are ruling.⁶⁰

Toledo wished to employ the Jesuits in all types of religious and educational work, but according to their rules the fathers were not to become parish priests. Toledo had sent an official out to the Guarochirí Indians, who was to bring the inhabitants of seventy-seven mountainside villages into eight reductions. The task had been going on a month when the Jesuits led by Bracamonte arrived. The viceroy wanted these seven reductions to be parishes, not missions. The archbishop had agreed to this. If they were designated as parishes, they would be under the jurisdiction of the archbishop, and the Indian parishioners would be subject to the collection of a tithe. Moreover, the viceroy could nominate the curés. Portillo thereupon withdrew his men for the time, since he had no authority to follow any such procedure. So Toledo wrote to the king, March 1, 1572, from Cuzco, telling him that the Jesuits were in doubt about the procedure (which they were not), that they could not take missions, and asking the king to arrange the Jesuit statutes so that they could go among the Indians.⁶¹ It was more than two years before the viceroy began to catch the idea, and it was not until 1581 that he fully comprehended that he did not have complete say over the distribution and work of Jesuits. To present the difficulties at Rome and Madrid Bracamonte was sent by Portillo in 1572, but in the night of September 30–October 1 Borgia died. Owing to the elec-

⁶⁰ Zimmerman, *Francisco de Toledo*, 237, finds it rather difficult to understand the quarrel between Acosta and Toledo in 1578, and hence overlooks the strongheadedness of the various Jesuit superiors and of Toledo. The following paragraph presents the case according to Astrain, II, 313–314.

⁶¹ Astrain, II, 313, gives the letter. It is clear that Toledo had an exaggerated idea of his powers under the *patronato real*. On occasion he ordered a college closed, ordered one opened, ordered the Jesuits to take charge of a seminary, etc., indicating that he supposed they were at his disposal; worse, he wished them to accompany him on his visitation of the viceroyalty as inspectors, which they refused to do because they considered the inspection a political affair. *Ibid.*, 312–314.

tion of a new general, Father Everard Mercurian, it was not until the last day of May, 1575, that Bracamonte returned with the Visitor Father Plaza and a dozen new Jesuits.

Meanwhile, the task of making a survey of the viceroyalty for an estimate of the prospect of colleges and missions had to be undertaken. For this the man who became the best known Jesuit of Peru, José de Acosta, was chosen.⁶² Acosta, leaving the chair of theology in the college of Lima in the middle of 1573, inspected the college in Cuzco in the name of the provincial, and then proceeded south down the mountains to Arequipa, then up to La Paz and Potosí, and on to Chuquisaca, where he met Toledo. How long he remained with the viceroy is not clear, but he was called back to Lima by Portillo because of some difficulty about the Inquisition there, and arrived in the City of the Kings in October, 1574. Apparently, Acosta was Portillo's first assistant. He made a fine impression in each of the cities visited, for he was a capable speaker. He and the two Jesuits accompanying him conducted missions for the people in each city. The services were attended by large congregations. The citizens and cabildos in each place petitioned for the Jesuits and promised to raise the funds for foundations.

With Acosta's report in hand Portillo was encouraged, but as his men were already well occupied he could not see his way clear to accepting the offers. Nevertheless, for the lenten seasons each year he sent Jesuits to the various cities to preach, conduct services, and hear confessions. Especially in the mining area around Potosí was the spiritual help needed for the rough mining society, and around La Paz for the Indians.

Portillo felt that his first duty was toward La Paz, the center of a dense Aymará population, the scene of the battle between Governor Pedro de la Gasca and the rebel Gonzalo Pizarro.⁶³ The cause of his interest was Señor Juan de Rivas. This enterprising and very christian caballero arrived in Lima in 1568 and asked Portillo for Jesuits to teach the boys of his province and to evangelize the Indians. He offered a lump sum of 3,000 pesos for a residence and an annual stipend in pieces of eight for its support. Portillo

⁶² Mateos, *Historia General*, I, Introduction, 15, give Acosta's itinerary, and corrects the statements in Zimmerman, 89, to the effect that Acosta was summoned by Toledo and that he was with Toledo during his visitation of the other cities. Acosta obviously made the annual provincial visitation in the place of Portillo and was back in Lima in a year's time. Cf. also, Astrain, III, 158, for Portillo's annual letter of Feb. 9, 1575.

⁶³ The account followed for the following survey of the Jesuits in La Paz is like that in the other authors from the anonymous *Historia General*, II, 205-249 of the text (253-299 of the volume).

could only promise to accept when men were available. In 1572 he sent two for the lenten season and in 1574 Acosta was there for the same period. Acosta reported back very favorably on the prospects. Rivas then went to Lima in 1575 and held Portillo to his promise when he found that more Jesuits had arrived from Spain. Plaza accepted the offer, and Portillo sent Father Juan de Zúñiga and Brother Gonzalo Ruiz to La Paz, where they were warmly welcomed by the citizens and cared for in the home of Rivas. Soon Brother Juan de Casasola joined them. The three immediately went to their many duties with remarkable vigor, to the happiness of their sponsor.

Unfortunately, Zúñiga was in trouble after six months.⁶⁴ In and around La Paz there remained much of the earlier spirit of the individualistic conquerors and the Indians were still under oppression at the hands of former soldiers and upstart caballeros. These haughty ones generally supported ten or twelve "soldiers" on their estates, with whom they roamed the town in grandee fashion. The viceroy, fearing an insurrection, ordered a stop to their pretensions and their oppressions. Apparently, trials were held and Zúñiga saw that there was danger to the lives of some who were accused unjustly. Called in as a witness before the *oidor* after due investigation of charges, he expressed his opinion. The official in his report to the viceroy at Charcas distorted the testimony so that Toledo judged that Zúñiga was one with those accused of treason. In his fury he ordered an *oidor* of the Audiencia of Charcas to go to La Paz and arrest the padre. To avoid scandal Zúñiga went to Cuzco. The *oidor* arrived at La Paz and was happy to find he had no padre to arrest. His investigation brought forth the truth. When the viceroy heard it his anger cooled and Zúñiga was exonerated. The padre did not, however, return to La Paz, but became prominent in other mission fields.

Not all of the problems of his Province of Peru had been solved by Portillo when the Visitador Plaza arrived in Lima on May 31, 1575. Plaza, well experienced in Jesuit administration in Europe, came with wider powers than were usually given to an inspector, chiefly because of the difficulties of communication with Rome.⁶⁵ He was delegated by the General, among other things, to make appointments of superiors. It is a tribute to his carefulness and to his esteem for Portillo that he made no change for seven months,

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 215-216, text.

⁶⁵ Astrain, III, 160-161.

even though Portillo had been in office for an unusually long period of eight years. On January 1, 1576, the change was made and Portillo turned over his cares to Father José de Acosta.

New Fields

Relieved of one position Portillo now found himself the chief lieutenant of Acosta. There was no letup in his activity. First the new provincial summoned the fathers for a congregation. This met in Lima from January 16 to 27, 1576, and finished its work in Cuzco October 8 to 16, with Portillo in attendance at both sessions. While its purpose was to elect two representatives to carry resolutions and petitions to Rome, this provincial congregation distinguished itself as a conference on methods for missionary work among the Indians. Its discussions and decisions, the fruit of the combined experience of the fathers, were organized by Acosta and written in book form. This was sent in early 1577 to the General as a work entitled *De Procuranda Indiorum Salute*, for which Acosta became renowned.⁶⁶

Precisely when Portillo left Lima for Cuzco is not certain, but it was probably May 16, 1576, the date on which Plaza started his journey up into the mountains.⁶⁷ The distance, nearly 400 miles, was covered in twenty-six days, though the Jesuits do not say if they went by cart or mounted. Their second meeting was scheduled to take place in August, but Acosta was delayed until October. The assembled fathers, on the recommendation of Portillo, voted to establish permanent residences among the numerous Indians at La Paz, Potosí, and Chuquisaca. Very shortly after this time Portillo was named rector of the house to be opened in Potosí.

The distance by air from Cuzco to Potosí is 650 miles, and that by road somewhat greater. The road southeast through the mountain ranges at an altitude of 10,000 to 12,000 feet was traversed by many covered-wagons, carts, horsemen, and footsore pedestrians on their way to and from the fabulous mining area. It led along the western shore of Lake Titicaca to its mid-point where the town of Juli was situated. Then it wound south past the ancient Tiahuanaco of the Incas. Here the road branched, one fork leading east to La Paz, one west down the mountains to Arequipa, and the high road

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, III, 162-166, has a long summary of the work; see also Mateos, *Historia General*, I, Introduction, 17.

⁶⁷ Plaza wrote a log of his travel in Peru, which is published in Astreain, III, 715-717; it supplies many exact dates, which are almost totally lacking in the work of the anonymous historian of 1600.

continuing on to Chuquisaca and Potosí. Such was the route of Portillo and two companions who left Cuzco at the end of 1576 and were in Potosí at the very beginning of 1577. Plaza followed a little later and required twenty-four days for the trip.⁶⁸

Because it was the heart of the fabulous mining area, Potosí was considered a very important city. It housed usually more than 3,000 Spaniards and over 50,000 Indians.⁶⁹ The Jesuits hoped to evangelize these and considered that the results would be far-reaching, since the natives were gathered from many parts of the kingdom. One may well surmise that the mining society in the rough boom town also needed help toward religious practices. Viceroy Toledo was in a constant dither for fear there might be an insurrection that would damage the royal revenues. Yet under the rough exteriors there were good hearts. The earlier Jesuits following Acosta on mission tours had found their words well received. That many wanted the Jesuits to establish in Potosí is clear from their willingness to support the fathers. They collected 25,000 pesos with which they bought a square in the best part of the city for 14,000 pesos and set aside the other 11,000 for a chapel.⁷⁰ This was to be the site of the future large church and college which the Jesuits built. Then they promised to assign the rentals of stores amounting to over 3,000 pesos annually for the support of the place, and promised more for the erection of the college. This offer was legally accepted by Portillo on January 6, 1577.⁷¹

The work of Portillo during 1577 and until September, 1578, was one of organization and building while carrying on his preaching, instructing, ministrations, and other religious duties among the Spaniards and natives. He had brought with him Father Francisco Medina and Brother Diego Martínez Calderón. When he left Potosí seven Jesuits were in residence. Plaza lived in the residence from February 17 to September 4, 1577, and undoubtedly helped in the work. The house on its completion could accommodate twelve or more, and the chapel was soon too small for the congregations. Visiting and instructing the Indian groups occupied much of the time.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, III, 715.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, III, 170; in these pages Astrain published parts of the memorial of Plaza, who gives these figures. Zimmerman, 175 states that in 1572 the population of Potosí was about 120,000, according to Toledo's census.

⁷⁰ Mateos, *Historia General*, II, 114 text.

⁷¹ Astrain III, 714, Plaza's report for this and the following paragraph.

When Plaza reached the College of Cuzco at the end of September, 1577, he sent its rector to Juli to organize the missionary work there. Plaza remained for one year as the rector of the College.⁷² In August, 1578, he was anxious to complete his task as visitor. He considered that Portillo had arranged the affairs at Potosí well enough and therefore, on consultation with the provincial, had Portillo named rector at Cuzco. Apparently, Portillo took office in early October, 1578, in the presence of Plaza and Acosta.

Just about this time the Viceroy Toledo was issuing orders for the enforcement of one of his numerous regulations of 1575. He commanded the *corregidor* of Potosí, who, by coincidence, bore the name of Martín García de Loyola, to close the school and church of the sons of Loyola, because they had not been licenced.⁷³ Again, it was the old patronage quarrel. The Jesuits took the case to the Council of the Indies, and the king finally on January 21 and February 22, 1580, ordered Toledo to let the fathers return to Potosí. This incident along with many preceding, particularly Toledo's order to stop their academic work in Lima, ultimately forced Philip II to admit the privileges of the Jesuits or see them drop their academic and missionary work in his domains. When the king's orders reached Peru, Toledo was out of office and Don Martín Enríquez, Viceroy of New Spain, had been transferred to Peru.

Portillo took up his work at Cuzco with his customary vigor. He found that the great benefactor of his early days in Cuzco, Don Diego de Silva Guzmán, had passed away. The Don's wife, Teresa Ordóñez, had not ceased her gifts and aid. Consequently, Portillo drew up papers naming the pair the official founders of the College of Cuzco, on October 15, 1578.⁷⁴ This act entitled them to burial in the crypt of the church and it obligated all of the Jesuits to offer suffrages in masses and prayers on their death. Annually there would be memorial services attended by the student body for these altruistic citizens who had done so much to bring education to Cuzco.

At the same time, since both the provincial and the visitor were in the house, Portillo saw to the establishment of five chairs for professors in philosophy and theology, as has already been mentioned. Additions had to be made to the building and quarters had to be found for students. The original plan to make this a large center

⁷² *Ibid.*, III, 170, 715, 716.

⁷³ Zimmerman, 237, and Astrain, III, 172-176, for material in this dispute. For the ordinances of Toledo see Roberto Levillier, *Ordenanzas de Don Francisco de Toledo*, Madrid, 1929.

⁷⁴ Mateos, *Historia General*, II, 15 text.

for studies of Indian languages and customs was adhered to and implemented by opening the seminary for Indians.

Besides directing the academic and scholastic studies of the lay students and the young Jesuits, Portillo set about the building of the large church, for which he enlisted the services of a noted Jesuit architect and a Jesuit muralist. He had much trouble with the church, too much to record.⁷⁵ There was difficulty about getting supplies and trouble with the supplies, especially the cement and foundations. It is no wonder that the building process went on for so many years, but when it was completed Portillo could view a masterpiece gracing the main square of the city.

One of the rules of his office as rector called for care and attention to the health and recreation of his community. He sought a site outside of Cuzco where the climate was cold enough to cause many aches and pains among the Jesuits. He wanted a place where the ill could convalesce and the students have days of recreation.⁷⁶ He found one in the valley of Yucay, half a day's journey from the city. There in the warm, green valley, well cultivated and productive of maize, he purchased from the Indians and encomenderos a tract of land suitable for his villa. He had a house constructed where the vista was pleasing, and a chapel beside it. With his own hands he planted a garden and a grove of fruit trees, then had his workmen plant enough maize to supply the college needs. Soon there was a truck garden producing vegetables for the college. This villa in the valley of Yucay became outstanding in the memories of the succeeding generations of Jesuits for the recreations it afforded.

One day while Portillo was at Yucay busy with the building, a messenger arrived from Cuzco to tell him that Señora Teresa Ordóñez was critically ill. He started with all possible haste for Cuzco, but on the road was met by a second messenger who announced that the *fundadora* was dead. Needless to say, Portillo conducted her solemn obsequies.

Portillo continued his arduous and effective activities as rector at Cuzco until 1587 when he returned to the Colegio Máximo de San Pedro y San Pablo in Lima. His work as a builder was now finished. The foundation on which he based the Province of Peru were well laid. Apparently, the cold and the higher altitudes had not

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, II, 17 ff., text, has a full account of this, without dates. Mateos publishes a picture of the large church erected after the earthquake of 1650 made Portillo's church unsafe; see, Vargas Ugarte, *Jesuitas del Peru*, 182.

⁷⁶ Mateos, *Historia General*, II, 16, is the basis for this and the following paragraph.

vitality affected his health nor necessitated the change. He had held his office twice as long as was the custom in the Jesuit colleges. Once he was in the lower altitude he continued to serve as preacher, teacher, and advisor.⁷⁷ He preached in the streets and in the large Jesuit church, and, though his sermons were never flowery, their stirring simplicity earned for him the title of the "Trumpet of God." He was constantly approached for advice not only by these encharged with the administrative offices of the Jesuits but by the substantial men of the city, who recognized his executive ability.

In appearance he was extraordinarily venerable, according to the writer of his obituary. People approached him in some awe, but quickly found him suave, humane, magnanimous, and extremely even-tempered no matter what the bad or good news happened to be. He was decisive in his opinions and unshakable almost to stubbornness when there was question of law or rule or authority. There is no record of his having personal grudges nor of having aroused personal animosity to himself, since he treated all equally.

At the end of his mortal career, when the "Trumpet of God" could no longer deliver the forceful words that characterized him, Portillo preached a silent sermon of patience during his suffering from gout or arthritis. What his mortal illness was is unstated, but he knew of its arrival some days before he passed away on February 3, 1592, in the college of Lima.⁷⁸ The concourse including all of the civil and ecclesiastical officials overflowed the church on the day of his burial rites, paying a final tribute to an outstanding leader.

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⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, II, 230-235, text, has the obituary of Portillo, which is concerned chiefly with his virtues.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 234-235, where the year of his death is given as 1590; this is corrected by Vargas Ugarte, *Jesuitas del Peru*, 221.

Book Reviews

The Life of James Roosevelt Bayley, First Bishop of Newark and Eighth Archbishop of Baltimore, 1814-1877. By Sister M. Hildegard Yeager, C.S.C. Vol. XXXVI, Studies in American Church History of the Catholic University of America, Catholic University of America Press, 1947. Pp. xi, 512.

Within the foregoing bulky doctoral dissertation the reader will find a biographical narrative of Archbishop Bayley, convert, scion of the Roosevelt clan, and erstwhile Episcopal rector. For the story of his training, career, and work the volume utilizes chiefly first-rate archival sources.

Throughout the book Sister Hildegard stresses backgrounds which are shorn pretty much of any comparative contrasts. After college Bayley studied theology privately with the guidance of a clergyman who possessed a library well filled with patristic writings and books on medieval history. Prior to his ordination into the Episcopal ministry his education was centered in Connecticut, a stronghold of Anglo-Catholicism. The foregoing precedents, combined with a trip to Italy, partially explain Bayley's decision to become a Catholic, a step he took at Rome in 1842.

After a brief stay in the seminary of St. Sulpice, Paris, where he was impressed by the review of the life of Christ in the liturgical calendar, he studied for a short space at St. John's College (Fordham), and then was ordained to the priesthood on March 2, 1844.

Following an abbreviated career on the faculty of St. John's, where his administrative talent came into notice, he served as secretary for seven years to Archbishop Hughes of New York. It was in this capacity that his executive ability matured and became the outstanding characteristic of his career in the episcopacy, particularly as Bishop of Newark, 1853-1872.

Archbishop Bayley's fame rests on his contribution to the diocese of Newark which was well organized by him. Though pioneering is usually associated with places in the United States farther west, the Bishop had to start from scratch in New Jersey. He made notable efforts to provide churches, priests, and schools for an ever growing diocese. In the archdiocese of Baltimore, besides the handicaps of brevity and ill health, his administration had the drawbacks related to mere routine, and so it failed to add much to his accomplishments.

Throughout a career unmarked by heroic deeds or extraordinary enterprise Archbishop Bayley was notable for his friendships, dedication to duty, interest in books, zeal for Catholic schools and homes, for his promotion of the Temperance movement, furtherance of Catholic welfare work, and for an admirable affection and support of the Holy See. Noteworthy too was his interest in history and historical undertakings. While the productions of his pen may be rated as minor, he betrayed a curiosity and intelligence which were ahead of his day. This is especially obvious in his efforts to encourage and assist other writers.

In this biography the author has succeeded in fixing the personality and character of Archbishop Bayley. Perhaps these would have been made

clearer by a topical arrangement of his loyalties and friendships, and of his cultural inspiration, sources and interests.

Typical of dissertations, quotations play a major role in the volume. Elaboration of footnotes is another academic trade-mark. While historical backgrounds are admirably done, the hero is lost sight of in some cases. This disappearance seems to be inevitable when he is not a major actor or contributor in his times.

The volume has three excellent photographic studies of Archbishop Bayley. Besides, it is also equipped with an extensive bibliography and an index.

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Histoire de l'église en Belgique. By E. De Moreau. Vol. I: *La formation de la Belgique chrétienne (300-950)*. Pp. xx+388. 2nd Edition, 1945. Vol. II: *La formation de l'église médiévale (950-1125)*. Pp. 501. 2nd Edition, 1945. L'Edition Universelle, Brussels.

The Belgian universities have produced many distinguished historians since the revival of historical studies a century ago. Moreover, in the publications of the Bollandists and in the *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique*, Belgium has given the world perhaps the best publications on church history written by Catholics. Yet up to the present, the history of the Church in Belgium has not been treated in a manner worthy of the subject and of the high standard of ecclesiastical learning maintained in the country. In writing the history of the Church in the United States it is the vastness of the canvas which makes it difficult to produce an unified picture. In Belgium it is not the smallness of the country which causes difficulty, for after all Belgium is larger than Holland and has a glorious ecclesiastical past. Rather it is the fact that through the centuries parts of Belgium have belonged now to one of its two powerful neighbors, now to the other. The sees of the bishops who governed the faithful in Belgium were as often as not situated outside Belgium. The chequered pattern of national history rendered Church-life scarcely less diversified. Père de Moreau has undertaken to write the whole story from the origins to 1914. His work is in all parts based on a personal examination of the sources. The first two of a projected six volumes show that in the author vast erudition is coupled with a sane critical spirit and a sense of history.

The first volume begins with a chapter in which the author inquires into the causes of the tardy appearance of Christianity in Belgium. Christian communities existed a few score miles away in the Rhine valley in the last decade of the second century. Why are the earliest vestiges of Christianity in Belgium a century later? The reasons are clear: Belgium was thinly populated, there were few towns and no cities. The countryside was thickly wooded and the means of communication were few. In addition there was the threat of barbarian invasion with no military installations such as the Roman Empire maintained in the Rhine valley. At the end of

the third century, however, there were Christians in Belgium and in the fourth, Tongres was the seat of a bishop. One of the incumbents played an important role in the Arian controversies.

The fifth century was a century of disaster for the Church in Belgium. The Franks moved in and wiped out the religion of Christ. In the sixth century evangelization was begun anew and in the seventh it was completed. St. Amand (+ c. 675) is the greatest of the missionaries who won Belgium for the Church and merits the title of its apostle. Although trained by, and in the tradition of, the Irish missionaries to the continent, he showed great devotion to the Roman bishop and, in this, reminds one of the Anglo-Saxon Boniface two generations later. This is but another proof that the opposition of the Celtic Church to Rome has been exaggerated. Under the Merovingians, Belgium became a country of monasteries whose monks succeeded in imparting the faith to the country people so effectively that they have retained it ever since. The Belgian monasteries grew wealthy and were despoiled by the Carolingian rulers, Charles Martel, Charlemagne, and their successors in such drastic wise that some historians have called it a secularization. Père de Moreau is inclined to agree against Hauck with this school of thought. Later on in the ninth century the monasteries and the entire Belgian Church suffered so severely at the hands of the Northmen that, for a time, it seemed that Christianity would be destroyed as it had been in the fifth century. But eventually the Vikings were mastered and the Church flourished again. The first volume also studies the origins of the parish and other ecclesiastical institutions as well as the beginnings of literary and artistic endeavor.

The second volume contains the story of the foundation of the medieval Church in Belgium. The struggle between the feudal lords and the bishops is portrayed according to the sources. The conflict over investitures, which was to result in the greater centralization of the Church, is treated at some length, as are the monastic reforms which heralded the new order. Such a large part of this volume is devoted to the history of art and letters that it may be styled a history of culture as well as of the Church. An interesting chapter on Christian life among the people is also included.

Each volume is well indexed and has a detailed table of contents which will render consultation easy. In addition many excellent illustrations of the sections on art adorn the volumes.

These volumes are the work of a master in the field of church history and will long remain authoritative. Church historians will find here all they need for understanding the development of the Christian Church in the small but dynamic buffer-state which has, and has long had, a political and cultural personality differing vastly from those of its powerful neighbors. It is to be hoped that the remaining volumes of the work will soon be available.

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Notes and Comments

The United States Catholic Historical Society, whose headquarters are in New York, publishes a Monograph Series and *Historical Records and Studies*. There are at present twenty-two volumes in the Series, and recently the *Records* were augmented by the annual publication, bringing the number to Volume XXXVI. The table of contents of this reveals five articles, besides the customary record of the proceedings of the annual meeting and some notes and comments. The articles are an address by Very Rev. Thomas J. McMahon, the Editor of the Society's publications, on "Our American Cardinals"; "Growing Pains in the American Church: 1880 to 1908," by John J. Meng; "Catholic Beginnings in Yonkers," by Thomas C. Cornell, which was prepared in 1883; "How Many Catholics in Pre-Diocesan Brooklyn," and "Brooklyn's First Preparatory Seminary," by John K. Sharp. In the Necrology we find to our regret the obituary of Monsignor Peter Guilday, who died in Washington and was buried there on August 4, 1947.

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The use of old pictures and photographs as source materials for writing history is indicated by Hermine Munz Baumhofer in an article entitled "A New Tool for a New History," in the December 1947 number of *Minnesota History*. Photography thus becomes a new tool for the historian. The argument of the writer is briefly: scientists, laboratory technicians, industrialists, the law, the governmental agencies, business men, *et cetera* "consider photographs as prime evidence," hence; "why should the scholar hesitate to make use of such a valuable tool?" Of course, the tool is not new to historians. A good illustration of the use of the photograph, its value and interpretation, may be found in the December, 1947, *Maryland Historical Magazine*. In a short, sympathetic article, "Montebello, Home of General Samuel Smith," J. Gilman D. Paul tells what he sees in a fading photograph of what was reputed from 1799 to be the most beautiful home in Maryland. Many historical societies have gone to great lengths to preserve all pictorial materials whether photographic, graphic, or in oils. An instance of note in this respect is the American Antiquarian Society, which, in its *Proceedings* of the meeting of April 17, 1946, published a checklist of portraits in the Library of the Society as well as notes on one group of paintings and pastels.